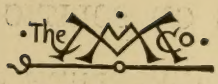
AN OUTLINE OF POLITICAL GROWTH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY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AN OUTLINE

OF

POLITICAL GROWTH

IN

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY

EDMUND HAMILTON SEARS, A.M.

PRINCIPAL OF MARY INSTITUTE, SAINT LOUIS

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PREFACE

The nineteenth century has had a peculiarly interesting history. Its achievements have been so rich and varied as to bewilder the mind that tries to apprehend them each and all with clearness and accuracy. In art there has been a return to nature, with many gratifying and some subtle and questionable results. The same tendency has manifested itself in poetry, and is to be traced through such widely differing authors as Wordsworth, Leconte de Lisle, and Pushkin. Both romanticists and realists have made brilliant contributions to fiction, and the decadents have at least called forth a storm of criticism. History has seen the development of the trained specialist and original investigator. Science has fathomed some of nature's deepest secrets and revolutionized industry. And in the domain of politics the people have put forth their strength and obtained constitutions.

These are merely a few of the notable movements of the century. All of those that are here enumerated have accomplished vast results, and which of them is the more important and significant cannot be said. Science has effected stupendous changes; but so too have the revolutions in politics been far-reaching and momentous. It is largely through those revolutions that the human mind has been emancipated, deadening tyranny abolished, and science allowed to work its beneficent reforms. It would therefore appear that the political progress of the century has been of a vital and fundamental character, and that the successive triumphs of popular institutions cannot but form a profoundly interesting story.

It is just that story that is recorded in the following pages. Wherever the people have taken the government into their own hands, or forced a recognition, however imperfect, of their chartered rights, they have been included in this brief account of political growth and progress. But though the work claims to be only an outline and by no means an original investigation, it is not a mere record of political facts and constitutional changes. Indeed, it would be difficult to define a political fact. Oriental peoples do not, as a rule, have any political life, and do not grow or change from one century to another. But among the progressive nations all historic events have in the end a political significance; for out of them arises the whole framework of government and constitutional life. Hence it is as difficult to make a history out of mere legislative annals as it is to make bricks out of sand. Congressional records have no cohesion apart from everyday circumstance. Accordingly, the present treatise deals with all the varied events and happenings that make up the story of a nation's life, even wars receiving some mention, though they are not narrated in detail.

Doubtless many would assert that a record of political growth should be a record of movements and tendencies rather than an account of individual countries, and that tides of progress which have swept over the whole world cannot be adequately described when each nation has its own separate treatment. That there is force in this objection may be readily admitted; but the fact remains that a nation cannot be a nation unless it has a life and history of its own. It was to portray that life and history that the present work was written, and the separate treatment was designedly adopted. There are excellent works that emphasize the unity of contemporaneous movements and events; but their very plan prevents them from giving a connected sketch of each country

that is treated, and the connected sketch is for many purposes convenient and desirable.

It is hoped that even this meagre outline of events may awaken an interest in political study, and create a desire for a fuller knowledge of the progress of democracy. For the benefit of all who may be so stimulated a bibliography is placed at the end of the volume. It is by no means exhaustive, and is not intended for the advanced specialist who is sure to have access to the many admirable and learned bibliographies that have been published. But to many students who seek fuller information than the present volume affords it may serve a useful purpose.

E. H. S.

Saint Louis,
January, 1900.

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POLITICAL GROWTH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

INTRODUCTION

The French Revolution inaugurated one of the greatest epochs of history. Prior to the Revolution government by the people was hardly known on the continent of Europe. France, Spain, Italy, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and all the minor Germanic states were governed in the interests of the privileged classes. Switzerland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was controlled by an aristocracy, and was practically a dependency of France. In Denmark the nobility had lost much of its ancient prestige and influence, as its power had been broken by a political revolution in 1660; but the king exercised autocratic sway. In Sweden, on the other hand, the nobles usurped the power and made the king little better than a figure-head, until Gustavus III. reasserted the royal prerogative toward the close of the eighteenth century; and afterward the country had no immediate political development. In the Netherlands, though the spirit of equality was prevalent, it had not created a democratic form of government. England was the only European country in which the will of the people was consulted before the French Revolution. Yet England was by no means a true democracy. For the king exercised his power in an arbitrary and despotic manner, and the laboring classes could not vote nor find deliverance from cruel laws. Nowhere in Europe were the people truly their own masters. They could not vote; they could not make or unmake laws. They could not resist the exactions of tyrannical rulers and domineering nobles. The theory of the divine right of kings was widely prevalent. The privileged classes claimed every jot and tittle of their rights, and the

common people were not supposed to have any rights at all. Consequently, they were oppressed and neglected in many ways. Lacking power, they lacked wellnigh everything. They suffered from hunger, from sickness, and from excessive toil. They were uncleanly, ignorant, and degraded. Their petty offences were treated as crimes, and not uncommonly punished by death. Nor could they be sure of acquittal when unjustly accused. Evidence was not carefully sifted in the court of justice; and a poor man charged with crime was assumed guilty. Little was done to relieve the condition of the sick, the insane, and the impoverished. The day of hospitals and asylums had not come, and the prisons were scenes of brutality and ghastly misery. In some countries the poorer classes received much worse treatment than in others, but nowhere were they able to better their condition. To do this they needed the power to make and unmake laws; and this power the nineteenth century was to give them. The old order of things was to pass from the hands of a privileged few into the hands of the people. Might was not to make right any longer. A new era of justice, equality, and liberty was to dawn upon the oppressed and suffering commoner; and it was heralded by the French Revolution. That bloody episode in history inaugurated vast political and social changes, which were taking place all through the nineteenth century and which have revolutionized the character of government over a great part of the civilized world.

These changes have had common features where they have occurred; but they have not produced the same political conditions in all countries and among all peoples. That were indeed impossible. For they have been introduced into lands differing radically from each other in historic development, and inhabited by races of widely varying characteristics and methods of thought. Democratic government could not mean to the Spaniard what it means to the Saxon; it could not produce the same results among the Norwegians and the Slavs. Accordingly, a history of the political growth of the nineteenth century should be something more than an unsystematized record of the constitutional changes that have been adopted by the progressive nations of the world. Rather should it group together those countries that have been animated by like

impulses and have had a common development or a common political experience. That such a classification cannot be perfect or thoroughly scientific may, at the outset, be acknowledged. No matter whether the principle of classification that is adopted be geographical, racial, or historical, in the very nature of things it must sometimes be at fault. For nations, like individuals, are free agents and given to glaring inconsistencies of conduct. Their actions cannot be reduced to rule and theory. The political philosopher who has fathomed, as he thinks, the character of a race, a period, or a movement, suddenly finds himself confronted by the startling, the unexpected, or the extraordinary, and his well-constructed theories fall to the ground. It is in no spirit of dogmatism, therefore, that the countries discussed in the present treatise are placed in separate political groups. Such an attempt at classification is made largely for the purposes of convenience. By means of it the mind of the reader may be saved from confusion, and the work may be saved from appearing fragmentary and disconnected. It is not exclusively the geographical, the racial, or the historic method of classification that is employed; but rather is each made use of as it may seem to be appropriately applied. Proceeding upon this plan we may recognize the following divisions and subdivisions of the subject: —

I. *The Countries of Continental Europe.* — These countries are grouped together because their geographical connection has given them a common political experience. This is true especially of particular eras or periods, when a common impulse has swept over the whole length and breadth of European soil. It was illustrated by the Crusades in the Middle Ages. The union of nearly all Europe against Napoleon is a further illustration. Again, the revolutionary outbreaks in 1848 and the socialistic movements in recent years have shown that the term "Europe" is a political as well as a geographical expression, and that the different European countries are, to some extent, forced to share a common political destiny. Yet these countries have by no means progressed together toward the modern ideal of government by and for the people. Some of them have been truly democratic; others have used the powers of democracy to cover tyranny and despotism. Three subdivisions of the European nations may therefore be recognized.

(1) The Latin Countries. It was in France, the greatest and most brilliant of the Latin nations, that the modern democratic movement was begun by the French Revolution. The impulsive and excitable French people suddenly burst the political bonds that held them, threw aside all restraint, and asserted their freedom by violence, fury, and blood-guiltiness. The same tendency to excess has marked their conduct in more recent times, as the atrocities of the Commune in 1871 and the vindictive persecution of Dreyfus may testify. Explosiveness, vehemence, and sentimentality characterize the French people; and these same traits seem to belong to the Latin races of Southern Europe. Hence, in Portugal, in Spain, and in Italy, we see political progress accompanied by reckless utterance, shifting administrations, unsteadiness of purpose, and seasons of popular apathy succeeded by seething discontent and revolutionary activity. These nations, it is to be noticed, have shown themselves quite as progressive in adopting universal suffrage as the better educated Teutonic peoples;[1] but in no one of them does there exist a government that can properly be called democratic. In no one of them do the people exercise an intelligent control of affairs.

With these nations is to be classed Belgium, for its politics are dominated by the excitable Southern temper. A large portion of its population is Germanic, but the Celtic element seems to have given its characteristics to the whole nation and to have controlled its political development. Hence Belgium has recently made radical constitutional changes in a period of feverish excitement attended by extensive strikes of the workingmen.

(2) The political development of Russia, Austria-Hungary, and the various nations of Southeastern Europe has been retarded both by geographical, racial, and historic causes. Situated as they are, these countries have been almost as much subject to Asiatic as to European influences; they are, to a considerable extent, peopled by races that have the subservient Oriental temper; and they were, through many centuries, the scene of internecine conflicts, cruel tyranny, and strange

[1] Universal suffrage exists in France and Spain; but not in Italy and Portugal. It is found in Denmark and in the German Empire; but not in Holland, Sweden, Norway, nor in most of the separate states that compose Germany.

political vicissitudes. In Southeastern Europe, the Slav, the German, the Turanian, the Greek, the Vlach, the Turk, and the Albanian have lived side by side, and seldom have they mingled in amity and concord. Among these peoples the Austrian-Germans have held a peculiar place. Belonging to the great Teutonic race, ruled by the splendid Hapsburg House, dwelling almost in the shadow of the Alps, they have shared the civilization and the political experiences of Western Europe. But in the end they were forced to turn rather to the East than to the West, and to-day they are working out their destiny with Czechs, Magyars, Poles, Ruthenians, and other uncongenial peoples. And their experience is not dissimilar to that of the other peoples who are here grouped together. Austria, Russia, and the countries of Southeastern Europe are not homogeneous. It is rather because they have clashed so frequently that they have been slow to break loose from the customs, the traditions, and the political ideals of the past.

(3) Five European countries — Germany, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden — are peopled by various branches of the Teutonic race; and, though differing widely in temper, manners, and customs, the inhabitants of these countries yet possess common aspirations, common race instincts, and common political views. These countries are all Protestant (though Germany is one third Catholic); they all have admirable educational systems; and in all of them the people are reflective rather than emotional.[1] Moreover, in all these Teutonic countries two traits, dissimilar and yet not antagonistic, are found to be deeply rooted in the national character, — independence, and respect for authority. It is largely owing to these traits that the Teutonic countries have been moved by the same political ideals, and have had a similar political development. All of them have clung to monarchy, even Holland having ultimately preferred the rule of a king to a republican form of government; yet all of them have hedged the king about by constitutional safeguards, which protect the people from tyranny and despotism. As the subsequent pages will show, these safeguards have more than once been set aside

[1] Such broad generalizations are only approximately accurate. The Dutch are phlegmatic, the Danes vivacious, and the Norwegians fiery and impetuous, like the old Vikings, when once aroused.

by self-willed sovereigns; but in the end the people have shown themselves supreme, and have not allowed the liberty of the individual to be sacrificed to the outworn theory of absolutism. True, the Emperor of Germany has shown himself an autocrat, and the individual who stands against him is imprisoned for *lèse-majesté;* but his extravagant self-assertion has offended the thoughtful portion of his subjects, and the growth of the Social Democrats in Germany points to the ultimate overthrow of a mediæval imperialism. The Teutonic nations move slowly, but they move toward the democratic ideal of enlightened self-government.

With these nations Switzerland is classed in the present treatise, because the Swiss Confederation had a Germanic origin and because the Cantons are to-day largely inhabited by a Germanic population. It must be admitted that the peculiarities of its political organization fairly entitle Switzerland to a place by itself, and make it difficult to class it with any group of nations. But though its government has been constructed on the federative plan and resembles no other in Europe, it still remains true that the Swiss people have shown the dominant Germanic traits in their political development. They have shown a sturdy self-respect, a love of individual freedom, and a tendency to recognize constitutional authority. Certainly, the political growth of Switzerland illustrates the German rather than the French view of government.

II. *Great Britain and her Colonies.* — One remarkable Germanic people left its home in continental Europe many centuries ago, and founded what was destined to become one of the greatest of modern nations. The Saxons are treated by themselves, both because their island home has made them independent of the rest of Europe, and because their political institutions have a character that is all their own. Even when the divine right of kings was generally recognized, the Saxon began to demand a share in the functions of government; and this demand he has pressed home through centuries of political warfare. Hence, the English parliamentary system grew up and gradually became the most perfect example of representative government the world has seen. At the opening of the nineteenth century it was in the highly developed state to which seven centuries of constitutional life and effort had

brought it; but there was still room for radical changes, and that these changes were brought about later will be shown.

But the Anglo-Saxon people was too full of life and energy to confine its political life to a single island. The race spread all over the world, and in every quarter of the globe the Anglo-Saxon laid his hand on rich and fertile lands and claimed them as his own. As his claim was substantiated and these possessions began to teem with Anglo-Saxon homes, the same political instincts which had created the English Constitution caused a new and notable development of representative institutions. The Colonies of Great Britain borrowed her system of government; at the same time they altered it and adapted it to more democratic conditions of life and society than prevailed in the mother-country. But their alterations were not radical. The colonial systems of government were an orderly and natural development from that of Great Britain herself, not a surrender of those political privileges which the Englishman holds dear. Hence, the Colonies of Great Britain are appropriately treated in connection with the mother-country, and as making a part of one vast imperial system whose members must become more closely allied as the principles of federation gain strength and recognition.

Not all of the British Colonies, however, are considered in the present work, for not all of them by any means have had an independent political development. Three classes of colonies are recognized by the British government: (1) Crown colonies; (2) colonies with representative institutions; and (3) colonies having responsible government. The first are controlled entirely by the Crown, acting through its ministers. The second are controlled partially, the Crown having the right to veto legislation and exercising authority over public officers. The last recognize the Crown as the ultimate source of power, for they accept the Governor-General whom the Crown appoints, and accord to him, as representing the sovereign, a restricted right of veto over legislation; but they frame and adopt their own Constitutions (with the approval of the British Parliament), and they choose their own officers in such manner as the Constitution provides.

Most of Great Britain's Colonies belong to the first class; a few of them to the second; while Canada, Newfoundland,

the Australian Colonies, New Zealand, Cape Colony, and Natal belong to the third. These last-named colonies are peopled largely by Anglo-Saxons. Hence, possessing an English population and English institutions, they are appropriately placed in a single class with the mother-country.

III. *The United States of America.* — This great American Republic is also an Anglo-Saxon country. Its thoroughly democratic system of government is plainly a product of the English political genius, inspired and quickened by new experiences in a new and stimulating world. But just because of these new and profound experiences the American Anglo-Saxons could not simply reproduce on American soil the English Constitution. Hamilton, English by birth, would fain have done this, though even he would have allowed considerable modifications. Jefferson, a profounder student of history, saw that America must have its own development. His view prevailed, and the Constitution and government of the United States are the expression of the new democracy, which, through the federative principle, has attained to national strength and greatness. The Americans have preserved the English love of liberty, and the English respect for the rights of the people; but they have given democratic institutions such free and full development that their country has nowhere been more fiercely criticised than in England itself; and it should be considered by itself both because of its individual character and its vast historic importance.

IV. *Mexico, Central America, and South America.* — These vast stretches of country, with their numerous states, have received their political growth from the people of the Latin race. Hence, they are closely allied to the Latin nations of Europe, and throughout the nineteenth century they have shown the same restlessness and instability that have characterized France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy. But the conditions under which they have fought their way to independence and adopted democratic institutions have been adverse, and a lenient judgment may fairly be passed upon their shortcomings. If they have failed to become genuine republics, allowance must be made for centuries of oppression, for a bigoted priestly rule, for prevailing ignorance and superstition, and for lack of political training. Yet some of them

have made notable progress in spite of these drawbacks, and in all of them the attempt to establish republican institutions shows that the ideal of self-government is more or less perfectly followed. There is no doubt that the example of the United States has inspired the people of these countries with a love of democracy, and has created a kinship between the Spanish American states and the great North American Republic. These countries, therefore, though they cannot properly be classed with the United States, may fittingly be placed in the group that immediately follows it.

V. *Unclassified Countries.* — Democracy has found its way into every continent, but in Asia and Africa it has thus far received a very scant recognition. The African race has not yet shown itself capable of self-government. It has attempted to found a republic in West Africa, and another on the island of Haiti, but neither of them has flourished. The mulattoes of Haiti have also founded a republic, so called, which goes by the name of San Domingo;[1] but they have been no more successful than their darker brethren in establishing democratic rule. Neither Liberia, Haiti, nor San Domingo has contributed anything to the political progress of the century.

Asia has proved hardly more congenial than Africa to the growth of constitutional government; yet one Asiatic country has made astonishing progress in the last few decades. Japan, after borrowing many things from Europe, finally borrowed political ideas and practices, and made the people the rulers of the country. This change was not accomplished easily or all at once; but little by little the Japanese learned the meaning of responsible government, and emancipated themselves from the traditions which had bound them for hundreds of years. Their recent history is well worthy of study, as it shows that even in the Orient the warfare of political parties has become a chief factor in national progress and development.

No other Asiatic country besides Japan has shown marked democratic tendencies; but for reasons that are given in their proper connection both India and Siam have been included in the present treatise. The former country, however much or

[1] Or Santo Domingo. But usage seems to prefer San Domingo for the State, and Santo Domingo for its capital city.

little it is gaining politically, is at least receiving object-lessons in the art of government; and Siam has lately attracted attention because it has allowed the introduction of modern inventions and improvements.

The countries that have been thus grouped and classified do not altogether comprise a half of the earth's surface. Democracy, therefore, has still vast fields before it to enter and subdue. But it is a significant fact that the races possessing the greatest genius for government are continually extending their jurisdiction over new territory, and thus bringing new lands into the political arena of the world. Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and vast stretches of the Dominion of Canada were outside of the sphere of politics until England brought them under her imperial sway. Nor did civilization enter Siberia until Russia took up her mighty march toward the Pacific Ocean. It was indeed a sorry type of civilization that she carried into the Siberian wilds. Its emblems were but too frequently the knout, the dungeon, and the convict's garb. Yet Russia is one of the growing and progressive nations of the world, even if it has not yet adopted constitutional government; and the spread of Russian influence must ultimately mean the spread of commercial activity, law, order, and education. Hence, the Slav, as well as the Saxon, is contributing to the world's political development, though hardly as yet to the cause of democratic government; and the Latin and Teutonic peoples are furthering the same end. When we consider the vast areas that have been added to civilization during the last hundred years, we may well question whether a history of political growth in the twentieth century will not include nearly all the countries in the world.

BOOK I

CONTINENTAL EUROPE

Part I

THE LATIN NATIONS

FRANCE
ITALY
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
BELGIUM
SAN MARINO
ANDORRA

CHAPTER I

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON

Though the lot of the people was quite generally an unhappy one prior to the nineteenth century, in France it was especially hard. The States-General, an ancient assembly composed of the three estates, namely, the clergy, the nobility, and the commons, had been summoned by Richelieu in 1614. But this gathering accomplished nothing at that time, for it had no legislative power. Accordingly, it was ignored for nearly two hundred years, and during this time the people had no means of voicing their grievances. Yet these grievances were bitter and increasingly great. The people bore the whole burden of taxation, while the clergy and the nobles were exempted. The kings plunged the country into sanguinary wars, and exhausted its resources. The peasants grew poorer and poorer, and died in great numbers from famine. They commonly lived in houses of wood and stone which had no windows. They dressed in rags and seldom tasted meat. In some districts, indeed, they lived chiefly on grass and the bark of trees. Yet, poor and squalid as they were, it was not their poverty alone that made them bitter and resentful. For while they lived in misery, the court was extravagant and the nobles were riotous and prodigal.[1] The grimy and emaciated rustics could not help comparing their own squalor with the luxury of the privileged few. The King gave away every year sums equivalent to many millions of dollars. The money spent upon his dogs and horses would have maintained a village; and in and around the palace no less than fifteen thousand people found support. The court, moreover, was a scene of gayety and frivolous pleasure even while the people

[1] "The court was the tomb of the nation, but it was as well a charming as a brilliant tomb." — Von Holst, "The French Revolution," I. 74.

were perishing. Louis XVI. did, indeed, pity his suffering subjects and try to help them; but the nobles and ladies about him did not share, or even understand, his kindness of heart. They lived simply for enjoyment. Of conscience and deep feeling the French nobles had little. Their code was honor, not morality; and though they were faithful to it, they made it sanction vicious habits of life. Courage and loyalty to the King were their especial virtues; and these virtues, it must be admitted, they showed conspicuously. They had the pride, the spirit, and the recklessness that result from power. But toward the common people they were haughty and insolent. They owned large estates, but they used them merely to maintain themselves in luxury. The peasantry were still required to give them certain feudal services; and these services were exacted with merciless severity. The peasant had to bake in his lord's oven and grind in his lord's mill; he could not sell his wine until the great estate owner had had his chance at the market; for a fixed number of days each year he was compelled to give his own labor and that of his oxen ; and he was obliged to buy salt of the King whether he wanted it or not, or else go to prison or the galleys. The taxes were absurdly high, but if they were not paid the delinquent's furniture was sold. But perhaps the most wanton and galling injustice arose from that passionate love of hunting which the French nobility shared with that of England and other European countries. For no matter how much damage the game did to the crops, the peasant could not protect himself. It was a crime for him to slay the creatures of the forest; nor could he prevent the hounds and hunters from trampling his fields of grain.

For all these abuses there was no remedy, and in spite of heavy taxation, the nation was poor also. For taxation cannot make prosperity. An impoverished peasantry cannot long furnish wealth to a privileged leisure class. The nobles gambled their fortunes away; the extravagance of the court exhausted the national treasury. The nation was sinking deeper and deeper into debt. To provide an adequate income became the serious and indeed the impossible task of the King's Minister of Finance. One man after another was tried in this office, but all alike failed. Necker, an honest and capable man, only

revealed the true state of affairs to the public without finding any remedy for it. Calonne resorted to dangerous speculation which soon impaired the national credit. Brienne suggested that the nobles and the clergy be taxed, but they refused, and he laid down his office. There seemed no way out of the difficulty but to appeal to the people. This the King did by summoning the States-General, and by this step he inaugurated the Revolution.

That tremendous period was so violent and so sanguinary that it has been too often judged by its wantonness and its excesses. It was the bane of the Revolution that its course was guided by the Parisian populace; and that populace was indeed a scurrilous crew. The men and women that composed it were vulgar, coarse, ignorant, and brutal. Their cruelty and bloodthirstiness took away from the movement the dignity that should have belonged to so vast and significant an uprising. The self-control, the moral earnestness, and the noble love of freedom that characterized the English resistance to Charles I. were conspicuously wanting in Paris in 1789, when a mob of fishwives and drunken rioters made the streets run with blood. But it must be remembered that even while the worst atrocities of the time were being perpetrated, grave, dignified, and wise attempts at legislation were being made.[1] It was not in vain that Louis XVI. summoned the States-General, though he little dreamed that the Parliament he called into being would sweep the feudal structure of society utterly away.

Three national legislatures sat in Paris during the revolutionary period. The first was called the National Assembly (later the Constituent Assembly), and grew out of the States-General called together by the King. When the three estates met at Versailles on May 5, 1789, the people's representatives found that the clergy and the nobles insisted that the three orders should not vote individually, but by class. This would mean that the third, or people's class, would always be defeated by a vote of two to one. For the clergy and the nobility

[1] All over France the grave problems of the hour were receiving due consideration, and many excellent schemes of reform were proposed. Hence, in adopting new and progressive legislation, the Assembly was but obeying the will of the nation. Consult the cahiers, or memorials, contained in the "Archives Parlementaires," 1 Série, Tome 3.

would invariably combine against the people. If, however, the deputies voted individually, the people could outvote the other two estates combined; for their representatives were 584, while the clergy numbered 291, and the nobles 270. As the first two estates would not consent to individual voting, the third estate took matters into their own hands, formed an assembly of their own, and invited the nobles and the clergy to join them, which some members of these two orders reluctantly did.

The National Assembly sat until September 30, 1791. It was quite the most dignified and respectable of the three legislative bodies that are connected with the Revolution, and its work was of benefit to France. Some of its legislation was chiefly destructive in character; for it could not build a new order of society on mediæval foundations. Accordingly, it passed the famous Declaration of Rights,[1] thereby establishing equality for all; it swept away the peerage, hereditary distinctions, and all feudal privileges; and it changed the King's title from "King of France" to "King of the French." But the work of upbuilding also received due attention. For a new Constitution was gradually framed; the right of suffrage was given to the people, though based upon a property qualification; trial by jury was established for criminal cases; the country was divided into eighty-three departments, the old division into provinces being abolished; and to save the nation from bankruptcy, the lands of the clergy were appropriated and sold.

When the King had sworn to defend the new Constitution, the National Assembly considered that its labors were completed, and it accordingly dispersed. Its successor, which was called the Legislative Assembly, met first on October 1, 1791. It was dominated by the Mountain, a vehement and aggressive body which sat on the higher benches of the Left, and was largely composed of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers. Controlled by such turbulent spirits, the Assembly forgot that its mission was to revise the laws, and engaged in a bitter and

[1] The language of the decree was: Toutes distinctions honorifiques supériorité et puissance résultantes du régime féodal sont abolies. Also: La foi-hommage, et tout autre service personnel, auquel les vassaux, censitaires et tenanciers ont été assujettes jusqu'à present. sont abolis. — "Archives Parlementaires," 1 Série, Tome 2, 501.

deadly conflict with royalty. Wild scenes took place during its sittings. Austria, Prussia, and Piedmont combined to restore Louis XVI. to his full powers and privileges, and France was therefore threatened with foreign invasion. Infuriated by this danger the populace of Paris made Danton their leader, overawed the Assembly, invaded the Tuileries, and sacked the palace, after butchering the Swiss guards. The King found protection with the Assembly, but he and his family were henceforth imprisoned in the Temple. Soon after this the prisons were broken open, and twelve hundred persons, including a hundred priests, were slain. The beautiful Princess de Lamballe was among the victims.

Unable to control the bloodthirsty Parisian rabble, the Legislative Assembly was obliged to bring its sittings to an end and to order the election of a new National Convention. That Convention assembled on September 21, 1792, and began its unprecedented and infamous career. Its proceedings were not uniformly bad, for it saved France from invasion, and some of its legislative measures were wise and progressive. To the Convention is due the admirable metric system of weights and measures, and the foundation of several excellent educational institutions. But its iniquities were so great that it will always be remembered by the evil that it did rather than the good. For it sent the King to the guillotine, and it inaugurated the Reign of Terror. That awful period lasted four hundred and twenty days, from May 31, 1793, to July 27, 1794, and before it closed, the guillotine had counted some of the most distinguished men and women of France among its victims. The Queen, Madame Roland, Danton, and a host of less notable persons were sacrificed in the desecrated name of Liberty. But Robespierre, who was chiefly responsible for this wholesale butchery, overreached himself. The Convention found that he was plotting the death of many of its members; so it rose against him, overthrew him, and sent him to the guillotine on July 28, 1794. This done, the people's thirst for blood was sated, and the Convention was able to establish order once more. Acting with great vigor, it suppressed riots, and, in June, 1795, it adopted a new Constitution, which vested the executive power in a Directory of five, and the legislative in a Council of Elders, — consisting of

two hundred and fifty members, — and a Council of Five Hundred.

This system had merits, but it did not please the Royalists. They wished a government more monarchical in character, and incited an insurrection against the Convention. Napoleon Bonaparte was chosen to suppress the uprising. He greeted the insurgents with grape-shot; they scattered in confusion, and order reigned undisturbed. The Convention, having thus provided the country with a government, brought its sessions to an end. Its career had lasted three years; more than six years had passed since the States-General were summoned in 1789. In these six years the monarchy had been overthrown, feudal institutions had been swept away, and the people had assumed control of national affairs. These changes had not, indeed, taken place without terrible disturbance. All Europe had shuddered at the excesses of the French Revolution. Its barbarities, its license, and its indecencies had brought lasting reproach upon the French nation. Yet, wild, horrible, and stormy as the period was, it was still a period of progress. The first attempt of the French people at self-government was costly, but it had been made. In the midst of bloodshed, horror, and chaos the foundations of democracy had been laid.

The Directory set itself manfully to the task of reanimating the prostrate nation. Its measures were wise and were crowned with success. Trade revived; agriculture, the arts, and the manufactures began to flourish; insurrection was suppressed; a Royalist conspiracy was promptly crushed. The financial distress was temporarily relieved by a forced loan, though this merely postponed the day of national bankruptcy. The nation ultimately repudiated its debts of over six billion dollars. But it was in the field that the Directory was obliged to display especial energy. In 1794 France had driven the Austrians out of Belgium, subjugated Holland, and established the Rhine as her frontier. But these successes had united Russia, Austria, and Great Britain against her, and her condition was becoming desperate. Fortunately, however, she had able generals to send against her enemies, and her armies restored her prestige by a series of brilliant victories. Hoche and others showed unusual military genius; but quite the most remarkable of these commanders was Napoleon Bonaparte.

Born in Corsica in 1769,[1] Bonaparte was at this time twenty-six years of age. He was short of stature, pale, and slender, but possessed of enormous energy. Men of unusual force quailed before his masterful temper. His father, a quiet, indolent man, belonged to an Italian family that had migrated to Corsica early in the sixteenth century. His mother was a native Corsican. From her he probably derived much of his fiery vehemence, and perhaps, also, some of his bourgeois traits and instincts. For, though beautiful, she was ignorant and uncultivated. In his youth Napoleon did not show remarkable promise. He was solitary and unsocial at the military school at Brienne, which he attended for five years; and not until the Revolution did his powers begin to reveal themselves. He was in Paris in 1792, attached himself to Robespierre, and, after the tyrant's downfall, was imprisoned. Escaping, he distinguished himself by crushing the insurrection of October 5, 1795, as already mentioned.

Appointed by the Directory to take the field against the Austrians, he entered Italy in March, 1796, and in less than a year was master of the country. The Austrian armies could not stand before his vigorous onslaughts, and were driven entirely out of Italy. In December, 1797, Bonaparte returned to France; but, though the people received him with enthusiasm, the Directory was rendered uneasy by his presence, for it viewed his growing popularity with alarm. Accordingly, in May, 1798, it despatched him to Egypt, where he made new conquests, but met with some reverses. His plans were frustrated by Nelson, who destroyed his fleet on August 1, in the Battle of the Nile, and he found that he was sorely needed at home; for France had met with a series of disasters during his absence. Its armies had been defeated, and it was threatened with loss of territory. So Bonaparte returned to Paris in October, 1799, overthrew the weak Directory, and established the Consulate in its place.

[1] The accepted date of Napoleon's birth is August 15, 1769; but it is by no means certain that he was not born on January 7 of the preceding year. At any rate, the Corsican records show that on this latter date his mother gave birth to a son named Nabulione. Jung (Bonaparte et son Temps, 2 vols., 1880) argues that January 7, 1768, is the correct date, and that, in order to gain admission to the military school at Brienne, for which he was really too old, Napoleon represented himself as the second son instead of the eldest, and claimed to be a year and a half younger than he actually was.

The newly constituted Government consisted of three Consuls, a Council of State, a Senate composed of eighty life members, and a Legislative Body of three hundred. But Napoleon was really the Government. He was made First Consul, and he took all the power into his own hands. Acting with great vigor and energy, he reëntered Italy and gained a brilliant victory over the Austrians at Marengo, on June 14, 1800. Six months later Moreau inflicted a crushing defeat upon them at Hohenlinden. Weary of the long conflict, Austria signed, in February, 1801, the Treaty of Lunéville, which allowed France to keep Belgium and the Rhine frontier; and in March, 1802, the Peace of Amiens was ratified between France and England.

Thus Napoleon was now free to devote himself to those internal reforms that were sorely needed. For France was, for a great civilized nation, in a very peculiar condition. She had neither laws nor institutions. The Revolution had swept the old order away without establishing a new one in its place. Napoleon, therefore, had before him at once a great task and a great opportunity. The country needed the hand of a statesman; and Napoleon showed himself a statesman in what he did for France, even if he did not evince first-rate constructive genius. He set himself to the work of restoration with great energy, and under his vigorous hand new institutions sprang rapidly into life. The more important results which he accomplished may be summarized as follows: —

I. He restored the Catholic Church to its old supremacy. The wealth which had been taken from it during the Revolution was not returned; but it now received a subsidy from the State of about $10,000,000. As France was a Catholic country, this step was natural and justifiable; but in taking it Napoleon was actuated by interested motives.[1] He wished to deprive the Bourbons of the support of the Church and to make the Pope his ally. And in this end he succeeded. The Church of Rome has always been the firm friend of the Bonapartes. Napoleon III. recognized this alliance, and in his relations with the Church, as in many other respects, he adopted his uncle's policy.

[1] Napoleon's hatred for the Pope and the Catholic Church was bitter and rancorous. — *Fortnightly Review*, 370, N. S., 567.

II. Napoleon reconstructed the educational system of the country, though with indifferent success. His greatest achievement in this direction was the establishment of the University. It was a remarkable institution, and it still exists. But in organizing it Napoleon showed at once the crudity of his mind and his ever active desire for his own aggrandizement. For he gave it a narrow intellectual tone, and he shaped its use to the needs of his own government. In its courses of study mathematics and science received the eminent position that was due them; but history, theology, and political science were neglected, and the ancient languages secured but little attention. And while the end of the University was instruction and research, it was also expected to turn out officers ready made for State purposes. Moreover, the interests of secondary education were almost sacrificed to this one institution.

III. The judicial system was made over and rendered far more efficient. The Revolution had created an elective judiciary. Napoleon had the judges appointed to their positions by the Government. And the processes of the courts were also changed and improved.

IV. A series of codes was prepared, which gave the nation a complete and admirable body of statutes. The codes were four in number: (*a*) Code Civil, which received the name Code Napoleon; (*b*) Code de Commerce; (*c*) Code Penal; (*d*) Code d'Instruction Criminelle. The preparation of these codes was an enormous task, and Napoleon could do no more than inaugurate it, and give his judgment on disputed points as the work went on. And his judgment was not always good, as he sometimes opposed useful reforms.[1] Yet the credit of the work must, on the whole, belong to Napoleon, without whom it could not have been begun or carried through.

V. The country was sadly in need of a system of local government, and this Napoleon gave it. But with a view to strengthening his own power, he brought the communes into too close a relation with the central authority. In this way, the Government was able to make itself autocratic and obstruct

[1] For Napoleon's not altogether fortunate influence on the Code Civil, consult Lanfrey's "History of Napoleon," II. 160 *et seq.*

the growth of democracy. France has never ceased to suffer from the centralization established by Napoleon.[1]

VI. In order to put the finances of the nation in a sounder condition, the Bank of France was established. By this means the Government was brought into relation with the monetary system of the country, and a greater measure of stability was given to financial operations.

VII. The Legion of Honor was founded with a view to encouraging exemplary conduct. The old nobility had been swept away by the Revolution. Napoleon wished to create a new aristocracy which would be devoted to the power that gave it being. The Legion of Honor, therefore, was a means of furthering his own personal ends; but in rousing ambition it served a useful purpose.

From this summary it may be seen that France owes much to Napoleon's administrative and reforming genius. His measures were not always wise, and they were colored by personal ambition; but they fairly entitle their author to be considered one of the great civilizing forces of the nineteenth century, and they do not merit the destructive criticism with which they are sometimes visited.[2]

Napoleon's conduct of affairs was indorsed by the nation. In August, 1802, he was made Consul for life with the right of naming his successor, more than three million five hundred thousand votes being cast in his favor. But his reformatory career was soon interrupted. His attitude was aggressive and alarmed the great powers. England quarrelled with him over the island of Malta, and declared war upon France, in 1803. Other countries fell out with him, as his conduct was sometimes high-handed and offensive. In March, 1804, he shocked and startled the sovereigns of Europe by ordering the arrest and execution of the Duc d'Enghien.[3] This unfortunate young

[1] This excessive centralization was perpetuated rather than created by Napoleon, for it had characterized the government of France for a long time.

[2] Taine and Lanfrey are two of Napoleon's severest critics, though the latter, at least, is an impartial one. Taine is excessively analytical and hardly recognizes the part Napoleon played in the march of events; but his knowledge of institutions is profound and his study of the period extremely valuable. For the essence of Taine's estimate see "The Modern Régime," I. 132–137 (Holt's edition).

[3] This act has been almost universally condemned and can hardly be justified. But for a fair presentation of Napoleon's side of the case consult Rope's "The First Napoleon," Ch. II.

nobleman was connected with the house of Bourbon. As he was suspected of being an accomplice in a plot against the life of the First Consul, he was seized on the neutral soil of Baden and brought to Paris and shot. So great was the indignation excited by the act throughout Europe that Napoleon's friends deemed it necessary to strengthen his position. Accordingly, the Tribune and the Senate proposed that he be made Emperor. The people ratified the proposal, and Napoleon was crowned on December 2, 1804.

Now followed the most triumphant period of his career. Great Britain formed coalition after coalition against him, but in vain. His former successes were eclipsed by new and astonishing victories. He crushed the combined Austrian and Russian armies at Austerlitz in 1805. Prussia was humbled by the battles of Jena and Auerstadt in 1806. In 1807 he unwisely conquered Spain, and placed his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne. His prospects were somewhat dubious in 1809; for in that year the Austrians again took the field against him with powerful and well-commanded armies. But by the help of strategy, daring, and good fortune he saved himself, and gained the decisive victory of Wagram on July 6.

But his power was on the wane. Wellington was gradually driving the French armies out of Spain. Nelson had shattered the sea power of France at Trafalgar in 1805. Napoleon's forces were now recruited from the striplings of the nation;[1] yet he believed that he could maintain himself against Europe with an army of young men and boys. Even calamity did not dismay him. In 1812 he conducted a disastrous expedition into Russia, in which he lost over two hundred thousand men.[2] Yet in the following year he drove Austria into war by foolishly refusing the concessions which Metternich demanded. The allies brought vast armies into the field against him, and shattered his power at Leipsic, on October 18, 1813.

In vain did he try to retrieve his fortunes. The allies invaded France. He opposed them with consummate skill and energy. But they reached Paris and forced it to capitulate.

[1] In 1813 Metternich said to him, "I have seen your soldiers : they are mere children." "Memoirs," I. 189 (Scribner's edition of 1880).

[2] A moderate estimate. See p. 409 in H. B. George's "Napoleon's Invasion of Russia" (1899).

Napoleon no longer had the nation with him. Rather than occasion a civil war, he abdicated, on April 6, 1814, and was banished to Elba. Breaking loose from that island in March of the following year, he made his way to France. His presence was enough to upset the existing government. The old generals and soldiers rallied to his standard. Louis XVIII., who had been placed upon the French throne, was obliged to flee. But Napoleon's downfall was only a question of time. Once more the great powers united against him. His power lasted only a Hundred Days. On June 18, Wellington and Blücher defeated him at Waterloo. The rout was complete. He was utterly crushed and broken by that one battle; but its importance has been greatly exaggerated by English pride. For had Napoleon driven Wellington from the field, he could not long have averted irretrievable disaster. He did not have an undivided France behind him; and the vast forces of the allies would have speedily overwhelmed his scant battalions.

It is not easy to estimate Napoleon's place in history. Judged from the moral point of view, he failed. His egotism was colossal; his nature was coarse; his ambitions were selfish. He was inferior, not only to such pure-minded patriots as Epaminondas and Washington, but even to such mixed characters as Alexander and Julius Cæsar. By many he has been regarded as a monster of evil; and some of his fairest critics consider that his influence on the French nation and character has been pernicious. Even his reforms, they declare, were only a natural sequence of the Revolution, and would have come about without his agency.

But history often shows that a selfish man is an instrument of good. Napoleon embodied the levelling influences of his time, and it was by falling in with those tendencies that he made himself great. He was born into a restless age. He saw thrones tottering and the people asserting themselves. Acting out the spirit of his age, he rose from obscurity to power, trod ancient monarchies under foot, and made France greater than she had ever been under her kings. True, he ruled her like an autocrat and he left her exhausted. But his civil government was able and progressive; and his very greatness was a menace to the kings who followed him. They, the representatives of privilege, were feeble and commonplace;

he, the self-made ruler, was the mightiest sovereign of his time.[1] Altogether, his stormy career seemed a natural and fitting conclusion to the chaos of the Revolution. In a rude, imperfect way it carried forward the work which the Revolution had begun; but after the Reign of Terror it was much that the work was carried on at all.

[1] Metternich's penetrating and dispassionate judgment of Napoleon is interesting: "Napoleon's practical mind enabled him to understand the needs of a country where the social edifice had to be rebuilt. . . . He was a born conqueror, legislator, and administrator, and he thought he could indulge all these inclinations at once. His undoubted genius furnished him with the means of doing so. The sentiment of the enormous majority of the nation would have been entirely with him, if he had confined himself to the duties of government." "Memoirs," I. 86. See also the Portrait of Napoleon in the same volume, pp. 269–286.

CHAPTER II

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA. — THE BOURBON RESTORATION. — LOUIS PHILIPPE

Napoleon had caused a mighty upheaval. He effaced old boundaries and made new ones. He dethroned kings and princes. He swept states out of existence, and materially changed the map of Europe. Accordingly, no single hand could undo what he had done. Only the great powers, acting in concert, could settle the disputes that inevitably arose after his overthrow. His first abdication was made on April 6, 1814. In September of that year the famous Congress of Vienna assembled to readjust European affairs. It was indeed a notable gathering. It included the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, many minor princes, and diplomatic representatives from every country in Europe, excepting Turkey. Therefore its character was highly conservative. It had not met in the interests of progress. Rather did it embody the very spirit of intolerance and absolutism. Democracy had no friends in that august body. It was assembled in the interests of the privileged few. It was sure to do everything it could to put liberty in perpetual chains.

Very deliberately and with much ostentation the Congress proceeded with its work. It had difficult questions to settle, and it settled them very slowly. Its tardy deliberations[1] were made much more tardy by Talleyrand. That astute and unscrupulous Frenchman delayed every decision as long as possible in the interests of his country. Prostrate and crippled as France was, she could but gain by procrastination.

So the proceedings dragged on until Napoleon's return from

[1] It should be added that this famous Congress did not meet in general conclave, and was not, strictly speaking, a deliberative body. Its work was done through committees.

Elba startled the leisurely diplomats into more energetic action. In June, 1815, they finished their work. They restored Europe to her former condition. All that Napoleon accomplished was, as far as possible, undone. Some new adjustments, it is true, were made. Saxony was divided between Prussia and its own King. A new partition of Poland was agreed upon. Some small districts were taken from the Papal States and given to France and Austria. Denmark was obliged to cede Norway to Sweden. But the old dynasties dethroned by Napoleon were restored. Constitutions were disallowed. Democratic principles were smothered. Europe was given over to the will of its rulers. The despotism of the Middle Ages seemed to be restored; and Napoleon had apparently put the cause of popular liberty back for a whole generation, so great was the reaction from his turbulent career and from the excesses of the French Revolution. But the potentates of Vienna little dreamed what a hopeless task they had undertaken. They did not realize that all Europe was in ferment. To them rebellion seemed wanton and wicked — an evil thing, which must forever be laid to rest. But the people were learning to regard it as a sacred right, by which alone they could win their liberty. The Age of Revolution was at hand.

And nothing could have been more sure to breed revolution in France than the action of the allies in restoring the Bourbons to the throne. Upon Napoleon's downfall they made the Count of Provence King. He was brother of Louis XVI., and as Louis XVIII. he began his reign. The title of Louis XVII. was awarded by the Royalists to Louis the Dauphin, that unhappy youth who died from ill usage in the Temple Tower. His kingdom was a prison and suffering his only crown.

Louis XVIII. came to the throne under unfavorable circumstances. He belonged to the hated Bourbon line; he was placed in power by the enemies of France. Naturally, therefore, he was viewed with suspicion by the French people. But for a Bourbon he showed himself liberal and progressive. He issued a charter granting a limited franchise, and providing for the election of a Chamber of Deputies. He allowed very few of Napoleon's partisans to be executed; and he allied himself at first with the moderate party and not with the most extreme and uncompromising Royalists. Thus something had

plainly been accomplished by the Revolution. The restoration of the Bourbons did not mean the restoration of absolute monarchy. A Constitution had been granted. The rights of the people were, in some feeble measure, recognized. True, the King restored the peerage and kept the power of legislation in his own hands. But even so, the tyranny and the manifold abuses of the ancient régime no longer existed. The newly established Chamber of Deputies had but a brief career. It sympathized with the gentry, not with the people. Its tendencies were reactionary. It favored the restoration of feudal privileges. Louis therefore dissolved it, declaring at the same time that he would rule in accordance with the Constitution. Still remaining true to the moderate Royalists, he made one of their number, the Duke Decazes, Prime Minister. So for a time his conduct was liberal, and the more arrogant nobles were rebuked. Not they, but the middle classes exercised control.

But in 1820 the Duke of Berri, nephew of the King and heir to the throne, was assassinated. The Royalists were excited and indignant. They worked upon the King's mind and persuaded him to dismiss Decazes. This done, they found it easy to dictate the royal policy and to shape legislation in favor of their own reactionary schemes; and it was all the more easy to accomplish them because foreign events furthered their plans. In Spain and Italy insurrections had broken out against the Bourbon princes ruling there; and Louis was called upon by the Holy Alliance to crush the uprising in Spain. This mandate he could not but carry out. The Holy Alliance had been formed at Paris in 1815 by the rulers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Ostensibly designed to perpetuate peace and to carry Christian principles into the practices of government, it was really a conspiracy against the liberty of Europe. But Louis was its beneficiary and was obliged to be its tool. He sent an army into Spain and replaced Ferdinand VII. on his throne. Thus, the country which had sent its own king to the guillotine had become the champion of despotic monarchy. The reactionary course that had now been fairly inaugurated was continued to the end of Louis's reign. Intrigue and corruption were rife. Elections were manipulated in the interests of the central authority. Ecclesiastical bigotry

began to sway government counsels. France seemed to be turning away from democratic principles and to be tending toward absolutism and privilege.

And this tendency was increased when Louis died, in 1824, and was succeeded by Charles X. Charles was brother of Louis XVI. and Louis XVIII., but quite unlike them in character and bent of mind. Louis XVIII. was, like Louis XVI., kind-hearted, gentle, moderate in opinion, and not at heart opposed to all ideas of progress. Indeed, he may be considered one of the best of the Bourbons. He possessed, it is true, the vices of his line. He was fond of ease, voracious, and self-indulgent; and, in consequence, he grew gouty and corpulent. But he loved literature and art; and he had the tastes and the address of a polished gentleman. Charles X., however, was conservative, narrow, and intolerant. He loved the past; he turned instinctively from all liberal ideas. He was kindly, like his brothers, but firm in his adherence to his bigoted and reactionary views. As Count of Artois he had exercised a vicious influence, not only in the reign of Louis XVIII., but even before the Revolution. For he steadily opposed all liberal and progressive measures.

Naturally, then, he proved but a sorry monarch. He did not fit into the nineteenth century. From the first he attempted to rule as if France were still an absolute monarchy. He revived worn-out rites and ceremonies. He endeavored to restore primogeniture. He attached excessive penalties to thefts committed on churches. His crowning act of folly, however, was his attempt to fetter free speech. For he tried to establish a censorship of the press and to prevent the publication of all utterances obnoxious to his own intolerant views. But happily his effort was not successful. Literature could not have thrived under such restriction. A premium would have been placed on bigotry and adulation of power.

But though checked in this direction, he continued his tyrannical policy. In 1827 he disbanded the National Guard for crying out against his ministers. This high-handed act was extremely unwise and excited great indignation. The National Guard was composed of worthy and well-to-do citizens. So the King, in suppressing it, was creating enemies who were by no means to be despised. Not long after this he dissolved

the Chamber of Deputies; but the liberal majority in the new Assembly was so great that his Ministers were compelled to resign. Their successors introduced liberal measures. Charles, accordingly, dismissed them, and asked Prince Polignac to form a new ministry.

Now, Prince Polignac was one of the most narrow and bigoted of the reactionist nobles. Popular rights had no more determined enemy than he, and Charles did the most unwise thing possible in selecting him for Prime Minister. By doing so he really started a crusade against the people; and in such a contest the people were in the end sure to win. They were not weak and exhausted as they were after Napoleon's overthrow. Ever since the Bourbon restoration they had been exercising their native thrift and economy, and had been growing prosperous. With prosperity came strength, confidence, and assertion of rights. Moreover, the press, in spite of Charles's attempts to control it, was formidable. Its sympathies were liberal. It clamored loudly against Prince Polignac's appointment. So the King was confronted by enemies on every side.

Still he persisted in his course. As a result the Deputies passed a vote of no confidence, in March, 1830. This angered the King and he dissolved the Chamber. But the electors of the nation were with the Deputies. In the new Chamber the majority against Polignac was stronger than ever. The King had therefore received a rebuke, and with characteristic arrogance he determined upon a trial of strength with the people. On July 26, 1830, he issued five ordinances of a despotic and arbitrary character. He decreed: (1) that the liberty of the press should be suspended; (2) that the new Chamber of Deputies should be dissolved; (3) that the franchise should be restricted to property holders; (4) that a new Chamber of Deputies should be chosen in accordance with this limited right of suffrage; (5) that certain of the most extreme Royalists should be appointed to the new Council of State.

These ordinances brought on a revolution. The citizens of Paris seized arms and barricaded the streets. Charles endeavored to suppress them by the military; but the troops finally fraternized with the insurgents, and his cause became hopeless. Polignac fled in disguise. Charles abdicated and made

his home in England, where he died in 1836. In resigning his throne, Charles had declared his grandson, the Duke of Bordeaux, his successor. This youth, who was the son of the Duke of Berri, was born September 29, 1820, seven months after his father's assassination. As he was the last Bourbon prince of the direct line, his claims to the throne were strongly championed by the Legitimist nobles. But France was thoroughly tired of the Bourbons. The young Duke of Bordeaux was at once set aside. The nation would not seriously consider him as a royal candidate; and his recognition by the despotic Charles X. was certainly nothing in his favor.

Nor did it seem appropriate that the throne should be offered to any one. Monarchy was in bad odor; why not end it? Such was the feeling of many; and they seemed to have reason on their side. Under her kings France had suffered such abuses that the Revolution of 1789, with its horrible excesses, was the natural sequence. She had given royalty a second trial, and now it had failed a second time, — and failed ignominiously. What could so fittingly spring out of its ruins as a republic?

But the truth was, democracy had to grow slowly on French soil. The nobles were uncompromising adherents of royalty, and in many districts they had great influence with the peasantry. The masses were not well educated, were unaccustomed to the franchise, and were obedient to the priests. In the cities the working classes were one moment quiet, the next explosive, violent, and riotous. The national imagination, moreover, is excitable and easily captivated. The French eagerly welcome a hero; and not unjustly has Napoleon's influence on the mind of the nation been pronounced unwholesome. Ever since his day the multitudes have looked for a great captain, who would restore the glorious days of Marengo and Austerlitz.

It is not strange, then, that forty years after the outbreak of the Revolution France was not ripe for democratic institutions. There were those who wished to see a republic established after the abdication of Charles X. To them no form of monarchy seemed endurable. But they had to bide their time. The sober and thoughtful leaders of the nation were not with them. They turned rather to the idea of constitutional mon-

archy. Lafayette agreed with them. He had been made commander of the National Guard during the uprising against Charles. His influence, which had long been under a cloud, was just now considerable. Theoretically he believed that the American Constitution was the only perfect form of government. But that France was not ready for it he admitted. This was the view of the Duke of Orleans, the new candidate for the throne. Lafayette called upon him, was pleased with his liberal professions, and gave him his support. Thiers, Guizot, and other leaders also favored him. He was, therefore, made Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, and afterward crowned.

The Duke of Orleans took the title of Louis Philippe, and was known as the "citizen king." He was the son of Philip Égalité, who was guillotined in 1793. Born in 1773, he was old enough to take part in the Revolution, was a member of the Jacobin Club, and fought at Valmy and Jemappes. After his father's execution he wandered for many years. From 1814 to 1830 he lived in England and France. He was vain, insincere, and not over-scrupulous; but his views were liberal, and great things were expected of his reign. The charter, securing the people's rights, had been newly revised by the Chamber of Deputies and made more liberal. This charter he swore to maintain. He also accepted the crown as the gift of the people, and adopted the tricolor in place of the white flag of the Bourbons.

His reign therefore began auspiciously. A distinct gain upon the absolutism of the Bourbons seemed to have been made. The new monarch was limited by the Constitution. As "citizen king" he was to rule for the middle class. Neither privileged nobles nor red-capped rioters were to dictate to the government.

But these favorable expectations were not realized. Many adverse conditions existed to make a prosperous reign wellnigh impossible. Almost from the beginning the new King encountered opposition. A brief review of the course of events from 1830 to 1848 will show what contributed to his final downfall.

I. The Government was embarrassed by the parties that divided France. Four of them existed: (1) the Legitimists, who wished to see the Bourbon line restored; (2) the Constitu-

tionalists, who believed in a limited constitutional monarchy; (3) the Bonapartists, who hoped to see a member of the Bonaparte family made emperor; (4) the Republicans, who believed that the people should rule. Of these parties the Constitutionalists alone gave the King a hearty support, and even they became divided and dissentient. The Republicans were vigorous and watchful. It began to seem as if nothing could rob them of ultimate success.

II. The military operations of the reign were successful, and yet not wholly creditable. In 1832 an expedition was despatched to Mexico. The government of that country had offended France; but it was speedily brought to terms when the French fleet bombarded the fort of San Juan of Ulúa. In three hours the stronghold was in ruins.

If no great glory was gained by these wars in miniature, at least no loss of reputation was incurred. But in the struggle with Algeria France made a sorry showing before the world. The war had been first undertaken in the preceding reign. The Dey of Algiers had insulted a French consul, and, in 1827, the French attempted to bring him to terms. They succeeded, but it took them twenty years to conquer the country. The native Kabyles, under a brilliant leader named Abd-el-Kader, long defied them. Abd-el-Kader did not know defeat. When vanquished, he began the struggle again with undiminished courage. The French resented this fierce resistance. They ruthlessly destroyed buildings, and were guilty of many barbarities. But their crowning atrocity was the affair of the caves of Dahra. There nearly a thousand human beings were pent up and suffocated to death. So great was the indignation caused by this inhuman act that Marshal Soult, the head of the war department, felt called upon to denounce it. Even so, the Government hardly escaped censure; and it was severely criticised for its dishonorable treatment of Abd-el-Kader. That gallant emir was in the end obliged to surrender; and after doing so, in good faith, was rewarded with a dungeon. Louis Napoleon, with nicer sense of honor, released him. Altogether, the French derived small credit and renown from their wars under Louis Philippe.

III. Formidable insurrections broke out during the reign, and a number of attempts were made to assassinate the King.

In 1831 there was a serious uprising in Lyons. In 1834 still more dangerous riots occurred both in Lyons and in Paris. The Government fomented disaffection by suppressing secret societies; and before it quelled the disturbances, much blood was shed and terrible atrocities were perpetrated.

A less troublesome rebellion was occasioned by the Duchess of Berri, in 1832. She appealed to the people of La Vendée to support the claims of her son. But the uprising was easily suppressed, and her own scandalous behavior bereft her of all her partisans.

Three attempts were made upon the King's life in 1835 and 1836. Four more occurred in 1840 and 1846.

In 1847 the crops were scant in the central and western districts of France. Food became scarce and riots broke out.[1] They were of such a threatening character that the army was strengthened. But this act did not lessen the growing discontent.

IV. Political rivalry seriously increased the difficulties of the reign. The two ablest statesmen of the time were Guizot and Thiers. Unfortunately they did not unite in supporting the King as they had united in elevating him to the throne. The truth was, each of these eminent personages wished to be the foremost man in France, and both could not be. They grew jealous of each other, and their enmity became open, bitter, and incurable. Thus, the very ones who should have made the King secure contributed to bring about his downfall.

V. Mismanagement of affairs was a fruitful source of sedition. The King tried various Prime Ministers, but none of them proved highly successful. Thiers was appointed in 1836 and again in 1840; but his term of office was short on each occasion. After his second retirement Guizot came to the front. He was first the controlling figure of the government under Marshal Soult, and later Prime Minister himself. Under his administration matters were tranquil for a while; but, as time passed, his policy called forth much hostile criticism and weakened the throne. He alienated England by

[1] For an account of the economic conditions in France from the Restoration to 1848, consult "Histoire du Système Protecteur en France," par M. Pierre Clement, Chs. VI and VII.

favoring the Spanish Marriages.[1] He offended the Liberals by turning from Lord Palmerston, the Liberal English statesman, and lending an ear to reactionists like Metternich. And the whole country was disgusted with his conduct of domestic affairs. For official corruption was overlooked, the elections were manipulated by the Government, fraud and intrigue characterized all the business of the State.

Guizot was personally honest, and he defended himself against his critics with splendid eloquence and magnificent courage. But by the year 1848 his cause had become hopeless, and his downfall involved that of the King. Discontent now existed everywhere. The reign was a manifest failure. If the people were not tired of constitutional monarchy, they were at least tired of Louis Philippe as a constitutional monarch. He had not shown himself the people's servant. He had been self-willed and arbitrary. Moreover, he was held responsible, and to some extent justly, for the scandals of Guizot's administration. Consequently, in February, 1848, the people of Paris rose in rebellion. They were met by force, and had force been used promptly and unsparingly, the movement might possibly have been suppressed. But the King hesitated and was lost. On February 24 he abdicated in favor of his grandson, the Count of Paris; and, like Charles X., he ended his days in England. He died near London in 1850.

[1] The Spanish Marriages, which were brought about in 1846, were the result of an intrigue between Maria Christina of Spain (widow of Ferdinand VII. who died in 1833) and Louis Philippe. It was at first arranged that both of Christina's daughters should be married to sons of Louis Philippe — Isabella, the elder and the heir to the throne, to the Duke of Aumale, and Luisa, the Infanta, to the youngest son, the Duke of Montpensier. Owing to the vigorous protests of Lord Palmerston the former part of this arrangement was not carried out, and Isabella was married to her cousin, Don Francisco of Assisi, Duke of Cadiz, at the same time that Luisa was united to the Duke of Montpensier. But Isabella's marriage was still adversely criticised; for her husband, the Duke of Cadiz, was weak-minded and sickly, and, as Isabella was herself frail, the union was said to be planned in order that she might die young and childless, and Luisa, wife of the Duke of Montpensier, might become Queen of Spain. In spite of these criticisms Guizot considered the Spanish Marriages a diplomatic victory, and boasted to the French Chambers that they were the first great success that France had accomplished unaided since 1830.

CHAPTER III

THE SECOND REPUBLIC. — THE SECOND EMPIRE

Monarchy had been thoroughly tried in France and had failed. Even when limited and constitutional it had not commanded respect and confidence. The Legitimists and the Constitutionalists were alike out of favor. The Bonapartists had no strength. So the time to establish a republic seemed to have come. Louis Philippe's choice of a successor was treated with no respect. It would have been impossible to make the young Count of Paris King. His reign would not have lasted for a day.

But neither could a republic spring full-fledged from the ashes of monarchy. The people were not ready for self-government. They had had little training for it during the preceding half-century. Indeed, they had had little to do with government. Since the restoration of monarchy they had held some constitutional rights. The kings governed with the aid of a chamber of deputies; but the chamber was not chosen by universal suffrage. Nor did the French people in general have a voice in appointing their rulers. Not they, but Paris, made and unmade governments, though Paris sometimes reflected the nation at large.

It was hardly possible, therefore, to establish a republic as it had been established in America in 1789. The United States grew out of public opinion. In France there was nothing that could fairly be called public opinion. The masses were not intelligent enough to think for themselves. Democracy could be bestowed upon them and educate them. They themselves could not properly be called a democracy. A republican government had to come as the work of political leaders. It had to be hastily and unscientifically erected. It had no sure foundation in an enlightened popular intelligence. No wonder, then, that it soon fell in ruins.

Lamartine was largely instrumental in bringing the Republic into being. After the abdication of Louis Philippe, a provisional government was formed to secure temporary order, and Lamartine was its leading member. He was an eloquent man, and he quieted the crowds that were raging through the streets of Paris. But to bring about entire tranquillity and to make the working classes contented, an extremely unwise step was taken. The provisional government established national workshops for the unemployed working men. The shops were immediately crowded, and many had to be turned away. The unsuccessful applicants had to be paid to be kept out of mischief. Thus the shops were an encouragement to idleness. They were established early in 1848. In June the government decided that they must be closed. The decision was wise, but it caused a fierce and sanguinary outbreak. The working men of Paris rushed to arms. The troops suppressed the insurrection, but not without terrible loss of life. The slain numbered more than a thousand, and among them was the Archbishop of Paris, who was killed while speaking to the rioters in the interests of peace. Thus the populace of Paris showed, as it has so often showed since 1789, that it revels in anarchy and riots.

Order being established, the provisional government gave way to the Republic for which it had provided. A Constituent Assembly had been elected by universal suffrage. The next thing was to elect a president. By the new Constitution the choice lay with the people. All who were of age could vote, and they elected Louis Napoleon.

This remarkable adventurer was the son of Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland, and was nephew of the great Napoleon. He was born in Paris in 1808. His ambition was unbounded; his genius was for intrigue; his character was shifty and unscrupulous. Already he had more than once attracted the notice of the French nation. By an absurd conspiracy he was for two brief hours proclaimed emperor at Strasburg in 1836. Again in 1840 he raised the standard of insurrection at Boulogne. For the first offence he was merely sent to the United States. For the second he was sentenced to life imprisonment, and was confined in the citadel of Ham. Escaping in 1846 by assuming a workman's disguise and walking out of the gate in broad daylight with a plank on his shoulder, he made his way to London

and there took up his abode. He was waiting and watching for an opportunity, for he never lost sight of his main purpose. He was determined to be the head of the French nation. In 1848 his opportunity came. He went to Paris when Louis Philippe was dethroned, but was promptly sent out of the country. Returning to London he was from there elected a member of the National Assembly, and was then made President. His name gave him unbounded popularity. He received 5,430,000 votes out of a total of 7,300,000.

He was now the foremost official in France, but he wished for still larger powers. He therefore fell out with the Assembly and accused it of thwarting his plans for reform. The Assembly, on the other hand, suspected him of wishing to overthrow the Constitution, and its suspicions proved correct. On December 2, 1851, he took the power absolutely into his own hands by a *coup d'état*. With the army at his back he proclaimed the Assembly dissolved, arrested all civil and military officers likely to give him trouble, and overawed the populace. His troops fired on an inoffensive crowd of citizens gathered in the streets, and this inhuman act effectually crushed all resistance.

But Napoleon had no thought of posing as a usurper. He wished to rest his power on the suffrages of the people. For he understood their temper and knew that he could count on their support. His term of office was limited to four years. The people were invited to make it ten. They consented by a vote of seven and a half million against six hundred and fifty thousand. He now promulgated a new Constitution. A Senate and a Legislative Body were provided for, but their powers were of the slightest. The Republic had really perished in a single night. It had not been reared by the people; it could not stand without their support.

Napoleon was now completely master of the situation. To make himself Emperor was not difficult. In 1852 the obsequious Senate voted for the restoration of the Empire. The people confirmed the decree by another overwhelming vote in the intriguer's favor. Out of eight million votes all but a quarter of a million were in approval of the Senate's action. Accordingly, on December 2, 1852, Napoleon III. was proclaimed "Emperor of the French by the grace of God and the will of

the people." The title Napoleon II. was given by the Imperialists to the only son of Napoleon Bonaparte, proclaimed Emperor of the French by his father in 1814 and again after the battle of Waterloo. He was but four years old at the time of Napoleon's second abdication, and he never came to the throne, as he died in Austria in 1832.

For some ten years Napoleon's reign was a prosperous one. He was well aware that he must keep himself strong and popular, and he set himself to do it. The French he knew would believe in him as long as they were pleased with themselves. His policy, therefore, was to make France the most brilliant nation in Europe. To this end he sought to give her prosperity and splendor at home and reputation abroad. He married a beautiful Spanish woman, Eugénie Montijo, Countess of Teba, who captivated the impressionable French mind. By adopting England's free trade policy he attempted to make the people thriving and contented. He rebuilt Paris at heavy cost and made her one of the most beautiful cities in the world. But his special appeal for popularity was made through military conquest. He was not a soldier. He knew nothing of war. Yet he hoped to repeat the victories of his uncle, Napoleon I. All the more necessary was it that he should win military glory for France, for before he became Emperor he had engaged the country in an undertaking disapproved by liberal Frenchmen. In 1849 he had sent troops to Rome to suppress the Republican patriots and to bring the States of the Church again under papal control. By this act he secured the favor of the Church of Rome; but the Republicans, both in France and Italy, looked on him with suspicion.

He wished, therefore, to embark upon some serious military enterprise. He had, it is true, announced that "the Empire meant peace." But to his unscrupulous mind the Empire meant anything that would contribute to his own security in power. War, he was satisfied, would give him popularity; accordingly he looked around for an antagonist. He selected Russia, and in 1854 he brought on the Crimean War.

That he was solely responsible for its outbreak can by no means be asserted. The course of European diplomacy is tortuous, and many causes work beneath the surface to produce the great events of European history. The Crimean War seems

to have been due to several causes. Russia coveted Constantinople, and was menacing Turkey. The English hated Russia and upheld the Turk. The Emperor Nicholas was headstrong, capricious, and unable to pursue a settled policy. Napoleon stood ready to set the English against the Russians, and the Russians against the English. Altogether, war seemed a natural outcome from the strained situation of affairs. But that it would ever have come about without Napoleon's interference is, to say the least, very doubtful.[1]

England and France sent an army of sixty thousand men to the Crimea. The French troops were more numerous and better equipped. The English took a more conspicuous part in the fighting. The Russians proved to be no match for their antagonists. Sebastopol was taken. Russia was humiliated and obliged to forfeit control of the Black Sea. The Turk was sustained in his career of brutality and corruption. All this Napoleon accomplished, and he stood before Europe as the head of a strong and brilliant military power. Yet he was tired of the war before it was ended. Though he drew England into it, he was more ready to make peace than she.[2]

His next struggle was with Austria. That he was wholly responsible for this war is certain. He deliberately picked a quarrel with Austria and attacked her in Italy. All of North Italy except Piedmont was under Austrian control. To regain the favor of the Italians, Napoleon undertook to obtain these northern provinces for King Victor Emmanuel. Through good fortune and the gallantry of his troops he won the important battles of Magenta and Solferino. But to the intense indignation of the Italians, he would not follow up his success. He secured Lombardy for them. Venice still remained in Austria's grasp.

His position was now a strong one. France was great, and she owed her greatness to Napoleon. But soon his fortunes waned. In 1862 he engaged in a foolish war with Mexico and withdrew from it dishonored. When Prussia warred with Denmark, in 1864, Napoleon suffered loss of prestige by the

[1] To understand the causes that brought on the war read S. Lane Poole's "Life of Stratford-Canning," II. Chs. XXIV–XXVII.

[2] France indeed acted in bad faith and began to make terms, when the English would have continued the war and wrested larger concessions from Russia. "Life of Stratford-Canning," II. 436.

course of action he pursued. Nor was he any more successful in the war between Austria and Prussia, in 1866. Once more he attempted the part of judge and arbiter, only to be set aside.

These diplomatic failures discredited him with the country. France had been growing strong, wealthy, and prosperous. As her own power increased, she suspected that of the Emperor. He had dazzled and blinded the people, but they were beginning to see through him. He was not a great soldier nor a great ruler. When the year 1870 came round, it found him suffering from disease, despondent, and uneasy. Military success would, he believed, restore his popularity; yet he shrank from engaging in war. But a strong war party urged him on. It was jealous of Prussia and confident that France could crush her. So a pretext for a quarrel was easily found. Spain had invited Prince Leopold of Sigmaringen to be its king; but the Prince was a Hohenzollern and a relative of King William of Prussia. His candidacy was therefore treated as a menace to France, and King William was requested to force the Prince to reject the Spanish overtures. By declining himself, the Prince relieved the King of Prussia from an embarrassing position. The candidacy was ended, but France was not satisfied. She demanded a promise from William that it should never be renewed. This the King could not give with self-respect. Napoleon had asked too much, and, somewhat to his own dismay, he found that he had launched France into a war. But the Duc de Gramont, War Minister and head of the war party, was elated.[1] He had no idea of Prussia's strength nor of France's weakness. For both he and Napoleon had been grossly deceived as to the efficiency of the French armies. For four years France had been preparing for war, but without thoroughness or system. She had, indeed, in the Chassepot an excellent rifle, far superior to the Prussian needle-gun; and much was expected from the mitrailleuse, with its rapid fire. But the vast stores of ammunition and

[1] The Empress Eugénie shared the Duc de Gramont's exultation, and to her quite as much as to any one the origin of the war was to be traced. For at the final meeting of the Emperor and his advisers, when war was decided upon, it was the Empress who insisted that France had gone too far to recede, and that war alone could save her honor. "Memoirs of an Ex-Minister," by the Right Honorable the Earl of Malmesbury, p. 665.

supplies that had been accumulated were not easily accessible. No arrangements for rapid transit had been made. The French forces were greatly outnumbered by the German, and France had no general of first-rate genius like Von Moltke.

The struggle, therefore, was not protracted, nor was its issue long in doubt. Napoleon attempted an offensive campaign when he was poorly prepared to act on the defensive. He crossed the frontier and gained a trifling success at the heights of Saarbrücken on August 2. Then began a series of disasters. The Prussians drove the French back across the frontier. On August 6 they defeated Marshal MacMahon in the bloody battle of Wörth. Marshal Bazaine was routed at Gravelotte on August 18, and was then besieged in Metz. And on September 2, but one month after the initial action at Saarbrücken, Napoleon, with ninety thousand men, was forced to surrender at Sedan.

The news of this disaster caused consternation at Paris. The "Government of National Defence" was at once established. Napoleon was declared dethroned. Sick, weary, and humiliated, he repaired to England, where he lived quietly for the brief remainder of his life. He died at Chiselhurst, near London, in January, 1873.

Thus ended the Second Empire. Like the First Empire, it had thrived on military glory and had collapsed under military disaster. But, unlike the First Empire, it had mediocrity instead of genius at its head. Napoleon III. was a student rather than a statesman. Never feeling secure upon the throne, he maintained a despicable system of espionage, and blinded the people with military success instead of educating them in political principles. Not, indeed, that he was without merits as a ruler. He strengthened the French navy; extended railroads and telegraphs; improved the processes of law; abolished preventive imprisonment and arrest for debt; shortened military service; and encouraged free trade and commercial enterprise.[1] His reign, therefore, even though it more than doubled the national debt, was marked by material prosperity and by some wise measures of reform. But his

[1] That Napoleon was really interested in carrying out reforms is shown in Malmesbury's "Memoirs," p. 562, where a valuable picture of the Emperor's strength and weaknesses is given.

character was so unprincipled, his rise to power so shameless, and his political system so vicious, that France has little reason to honor his memory.[1]

[1] De la Gorce, in the preface to his "Histoire du Second Empire," describes Napoleon's reign very aptly as "à la fois brillant et néfaste, superficiel et tragique."

CHAPTER IV

THE THIRD REPUBLIC

The Prussians were quick to follow up the signal victory of Sedan. They passed on to Paris, leaving Bazaine securely invested at Metz. Their progress was unresisted, for the French no longer had any armies to bring against them. Nearly one hundred thousand men had been captured at Sedan. Another hundred thousand were shut up in Metz. But the Government of the National Defence was full of energy. Thiers, Jules Favre, Jules Simon, and Gambetta were its leading members; and they were among the ablest men in France. They used every effort to put new armies in the field, Gambetta being particularly active in this direction. But their attempts were unavailing. Bazaine surrendered Metz and his entire army after a short siege. The French recruits were no match for Prussia's disciplined battalions. So Paris, in spite of a brave resistance, could not be saved. The siege of the city began on September 19, 1870; on January 28, 1871, an armistice was agreed upon and resistance ceased. France, which had entered into the war with so much elation, was utterly humiliated. Her capital was at the mercy of foreign soldiers.

But peace, to be lasting, must be securely ratified. On February 8 elections were held to choose a National Assembly. The deputies met at Bordeaux and established a republican government to sit at Versailles, with M. Grévy as President, and Thiers as chief of the executive department. A few were in favor of continuing the war, but the vast majority followed the advice of Thiers, and accepted the terms which Germany offered. For, in December, King William of Prussia had been proclaimed German Emperor at Versailles. Thus the war which had prostrated France had created a new empire;

and the vanquished nation had now to deal with the great power which had sprung out of its own weakness. Not Prussia, but Germany, dictated terms to France.

And those terms were hard and humiliating. France was to cede Alsace and Lorraine to Germany and pay an indemnity of a billion dollars. Thiers had wrested Belfort from the iron grasp of Bismarck, but that was all he could do. But resistance was absolutely useless. The Assembly agreed to these terms. On May 10 the Treaty of Frankfort, which embodied them, was signed, and the war was over. The Germans withdrew from France, after leaving a sufficient force to insure the payment of the indemnity.

Thus the newly established Government was free to attend to domestic affairs; and they sorely needed attention. Paris was undergoing a second siege. Its inflammable workingmen had shown the same love of riot and destruction they had displayed in the Revolution of 1789 and in many succeeding outbreaks. In March, long before peace was signed, the Commune had rebelled against the Versailles Government. So supine were the authorities and so active were the insurgents that Paris was soon in the full possession of a desperate horde of incendiaries. Marshal MacMahon was instructed to recapture it; and this he found no easy task. The siege began on April 2, and was not ended till May 21. The Government troops and the insurgents fought hand to hand in the streets. Inch by inch the city had to be wrested from the hands of the Commune. And finally, as their cause became desperate, the rioters gave free play to their mad passions and acted like destroying demons. They fired buildings with petroleum and shot down inoffensive prisoners. Among the victims of this wanton butchery were the venerable Archbishop of Paris and a number of priests. But at last the scarred and disfigured city was restored to the keeping of the nation.

These sanguinary occurrences were unfortunate. They did not help the Republic, and its strength was none too great. Its character was temporary and provisional; for it had been created to meet a national emergency. The nation had yet to decide what permanent form of government it would build on the ruins of the Second Empire; and that decision could not be reached without the contention of parties. For the Repub-

licans did not command a majority in the Chamber of Deputies. The Monarchists had been returned in great numbers; for when the elections were held the people looked less to remote political contingencies than to the immediate settlement of the war. Hence, many Monarchists and Imperialists were chosen, partly because they stood for peace, and partly because in large portions of France they had great influence with the peasantry. In the Assembly, therefore, the enemies of the Republic outnumbered its friends. But the Republicans were strong and enthusiastic, and they had the logic of events on their side. For neither monarchy nor empire had been able to stand since 1789. Moreover, they had the powerful support of Thiers, whose heroic exertions in establishing peace had given him almost unbounded influence. He was hardly a Republican, indeed, but rather a Constitutionalist. Like a number of others in the Assembly, he was not averse to any form of government that was based upon a liberal Constitution. Indeed, the Monarchists counted him among their following, and eventually charged him with deserting their cause through presidential ambition. That the charge was absolutely without foundation it is difficult to say; for Thiers was certainly ambitious and fond of power. But there is ample evidence that he honestly considered the Republic the only suitable form of government for France at this particular time. He realized that it was demanded by the sentiment of the nation, and that a monarchy, even if established, would be unstable.[1]

[1] The charge of disloyalty to the monarchical party is brought by Count Falloux in his "Memoirs," which fairly reflect the views of the better portion of the Royalists. But the charge is not well sustained and is directly contradicted by the opinions which Thiers more than once expressed earnestly and emphatically before the Chamber of Deputies. He does not, indeed, declare himself a convert to Republican principles, and in one of his speeches ("Discours Parlementaires de M. Thiers," VII. 101) he pictures the dangers of democracy in a striking passage, beginning, "Les gouvernements libres ont aussi leurs misères." But in his message of November 13, 1872, he says that the Republic exists and that to try for anything else would be a new revolution, "et la plus redoutable de toutes" ("Discours," XV. 27). And in his speech on May 24, 1873, in which he defends the course that had been followed during the two preceding years, he states that the reason why he, an old partisan of the Monarchy, had supported the Republic, was that the Monarchy was absolutely impossible ("Discours," XV. 206). A little below (XV. 207) he gives the reason why it is impossible in the quaint phrase, "Il n'y a que un trône, et l'on ne peut l'occuper à trois."

Accordingly, as head of the Republic, Thiers did all he could to strengthen it. He had really been its chief executive ever since it was established; and on August 30, 1871, he was made its formal President. Though now seventy-four years old, he had the energy and fire of youth; and he discharged the tasks that confronted him with astonishing vigor. He reorganized the army, reformed the civil service, and paid off the vast war indemnity with unexpected rapidity. And this last achievement won him the especial gratitude of the nation; for, by the terms of the Treaty of Frankfort, a German army was to be quartered on French soil, at the expense of the French people, until the debt to Germany was paid in full.

But, in spite of his vigorous handling of affairs, Thiers encountered an ever increasing opposition in the Assembly. The Monarchists were offended with him because he would not promote their reactionary schemes, and many disliked his policy of protection. For he had undone all that Napoleon III. had accomplished in the direction of free trade. Several times he resigned, only to find that his resignation was not accepted, even his enemies admitting that his strong hand was still needed at the nation's helm. But, finally, on May 24, 1873, the opposition succeeded in passing a resolution of censure against him by a vote of 360 to 344. His resignation was now accepted, and the Monarchists had their opportunity. No doubt the nation was Republican at heart; but, recovering as it was from an exhausting war, it was hardly ready to quarrel for Republican principles. Therefore, as the Monarchists had a majority in the Assembly, they only needed to act together to make their cause successful. But it was exactly this co-operation that they found difficult. There were three distinct factions among the enemies of the Republic, the Legitimists, the Orleanists, and the Imperialists. These factions now endeavored to fuse, and to overturn the Republic. But they could not unite with any heart, for they did not share the same central convictions. Each of the three wished to elevate its own candidate to the throne, and each was able to give but a grudging allegiance to the head of one of the other factions. The Imperialists, however, were weak in numbers in the Assembly; so they acted with the Royalists out of sheer hostility to the Republic. The Orleanists gave way to the Legitimists,

as the latter seemed best to represent the monarchical tradition. Accordingly, a "fusion" was brought about, though an imperfect one. It was strong to pull down rather than to build up.

But, imperfect as the fusion was, it proceeded with its plan of overturning the Republic. Immediately after Thiers's resignation it elected Marshal MacMahon to the presidency, believing that he would help on its reactionary designs. The next thing in order was to bring forward the Count of Chambord,[1] the head of the Legitimists, as the one man who could save France from disorder. Accordingly, on August 5, 1873, the Count of Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe and head of the Orleanists, visited him in his castle at Frohsdorf, in Austria, and tendered him his allegiance. But it presently seemed as if the Count of Chambord should rather have recognized the leadership of the Count of Paris. For the latter was a liberal, scholarly, and progressive man; while the Count of Chambord, though not without scholarly tastes, was as narrow and bigoted as any Bourbon had ever been before him. With the situation almost wholly within his control, he ruined his chances of reigning by his immovable obstinacy. He had already dismayed his supporters by announcing that if he accepted the throne the tricolor must give place to the white flag of the Bourbons — a proposition so offensive to the French nation that the hope of the Monarchists lay in persuading their leader to modify his views. But this he refused to do. In a letter dated October 27, he said, "I retract nothing, and I curtail none of my former statements." So the Royalist cause collapsed. It was impossible to elevate the intolerant Count of Chambord to the throne. It was equally impossible to elevate the Count of Paris, since he had recognized the superior claims of the Bourbon line. And the death of Napoleon III., on January 9, 1873, had excited so little comment that the Bonapartists recognized the futility of pressing their own cause at this juncture.

Accordingly, the Republic lived on, though as yet it was hardly more than a Republic in name. It had but one Legislative Chamber, and it did not rest upon a constitutional basis.

[1] Grandson of Charles X., and known also as the Duke of Bordeaux. See p. 33.

It therefore needed wise legislation to give it stability. And it needed, above all things, an opportunity of showing itself equal to a wise and vigorous conduct of affairs. Only by existing for a number of years could it confound the arguments of its enemies. The Monarchists and Imperialists claimed that it should be set aside because it was too weak to stand and to suppress disorder. But if it should succeed in standing year after year, it would vindicate its right to the support of the whole French nation.

It was highly important, then, what was to be the attitude of Thiers's successor toward the existing Government. MacMahon had been chosen by the Royalists to help them in destroying the Republic. Fortunately, however, he disappointed their expectations. Resolute, honest, incapable of betraying his trust, he at once declared himself on the side of established authority. In a message to the Assembly, he said, unequivocally, "I shall be a vigorous and resolute conservative. . . . I shall impress unity, stability, and the spirit of order upon the administration." In accordance with this declaration, he had the Vendôme column, pulled down by the Commune, restored; caused diplomatic representatives of France to be sent to the courts of Germany, Russia, and Austria; secured the last payment of the indemnity, on September 5; and set about strengthening and improving the army.

These measures he followed up by demanding of the Assembly that it give the existing Government the needed stability and authority. For he found difficulty in making his administration thoroughly respected. The press criticised it unsparingly; the municipalities were inclined to resist the central authority. MacMahon's term of office was fixed therefore at seven years, a proposition to make it ten years meeting with opposition. On November 19 the Assembly voted to establish a commission of thirty to formulate a Constitution. Strengthened by this decree, the President stated publicly, in February, 1874, that "he should make law and order respected throughout the seven years of his office." All propositions to reëstablish the monarchy he resolutely frowned upon, thus making it more than ever certain that the Count of Chambord would never receive the coveted title of Henry V. The Royalists showed their disappointment by opposing the Govern-

ment's measures. But, in spite of their hostility, the work of strengthening the Republic went on. MacMahon recommended the creation of a Senate, that there might be two Legislative Chambers; and this proposition, after some fierce opposition, was finally adopted. It was voted, on February 24, to create a Senate of 300 members, 225 of them to be elected by the departments and 75 by the Assembly. And on the following day, the Republic was formally established by a vote of 425 to 254, and became the legal Government of France.

This vote was secured by a union of the Republicans with the more liberal Monarchists, and was thus an additional blow to Royalist hopes. The Republic was now, seemingly, secure. It had powerful champions in Thiers and Gambetta. It gained constantly in the by-elections, which usually resulted in sending the Republican candidate to the Assembly. And, finally, when the Assembly was dissolved and a new one was chosen, in February, 1876, the Republican members clearly outnumbered the Legitimists, the Orleanists, and the Imperialists combined. Even in the Senate the reactionists had but a very small majority. For the Assembly had, in the previous December, chosen fifty-two Republicans out of the seventy-five senators it had to elect; and many of the senators chosen by the Departments were moderate Republicans also.

And fortunate it was that the Republic was gaining strength; for it had now to engage in a battle royal with the President himself. MacMahon had the soldier's respect for established authority; and in assuming office he had at once pronounced himself the champion of order. The Republic had been established by the nation's representatives. Therefore, to his straightforward mind, it was entitled to the support of every loyal Frenchman. But if he had the soldier's regard for authority, he had the general's habit of command. As head of the nation, he claimed the right of dictating its policy. The will of the people, as expressed by the Republican majority in the Assembly, he was slow to recognize. He therefore insisted from the first in appointing reactionist Ministers, who did not fairly represent the nation. For his views were not liberal, and his personal affiliations were rather with the Royalists and Imperialists, even though he would not support the monarchical cause. In choosing his Ministers he was always inclined to

ignore the Republicans and to select men of a very conservative type. Moreover, he sometimes tried to control the national elections, in defiance of the spirit of democracy. Hence, his dictatorial ways brought him into inevitable conflict with the nation.

His first Prime Minister was the Duc de Broglie, a Monarchist, though a very liberal one. After him came De Cissey, and later M. Buffet, both of whom were stanch Conservatives. In February, 1876, Buffet had resigned, being confronted by a hostile majority in the Assembly, and had been succeeded by M. Dufaure. Dufaure was a Liberal, and so was Jules Simon, who replaced him in December. But neither of these men was pleasing to MacMahon, for their views were too broad and progressive for his narrow mind. So, in May, 1877, he caused Jules Simon to resign by sending him a censorious letter, and reappointed his favorite, the Duc de Broglie. This arbitrary conduct made him unpopular; and, finding himself losing ground, he dissolved the Assembly, in 1877. But he soon saw that the task of controlling the suffrages of the French nation was beyond his powers. The people seemed to be growing in their appreciation of Republican principles. Gambetta's speeches filled them with enthusiasm; and the death of Thiers, on September 3, increased their devotion to the cause to which he had given his closing years. It was all in vain, therefore, that MacMahon opposed the Republican movement. He appealed to the army to save France; he issued a manifesto declaring that he could not become the "tool of radicalism"; and he interfered with the freedom of the ballot. But when the elections were held, on October 14, the Government received a severe rebuke. There were elected 325 Republicans against 112 Bonapartists and 96 Monarchists. MacMahon was obliged to bow to the will of the people. Reluctantly he let his reactionary ministry go and formed a new one that embodied the liberal views of the legislative majority. On December 13, M. Dufaure was again called upon to form a Cabinet; and on the following day MacMahon issued a message to the Chambers, in which he expressed his entire acceptance of the results of the election. "The interest of the country," he declares, "demands that the crisis we are passing through should be ended. It demands, with no less force, that the crisis be not renewed." And he goes on to say that "the con-

cord established between the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies will permit the accomplishment of the important legislative measures which the public interest craves."

The Cabinet chosen by M. Dufaure was thoroughly Republican, and its conduct of affairs soon put the Republic upon a firmer footing. MacMahon no longer tried to control the policy of the administration. Reactionary prefects, who had used their influence against the existing Constitution, were removed. The press was freed from restrictions. Clerical control of education was resisted. Officials who obstructed the liberal policy of the Government were dismissed. And even in the Senate the power of the reactionists was broken. By the requirements of the Constitution seventy-five senators retired at the end of every three years and new ones were chosen in their places. On January 5, 1879, new elections were held, and out of seventy-five seats the Republicans secured all but sixteen. This victory gave them a majority in the Senate as well as in the Assembly.

The reactionists did not, indeed, cease to scheme against the Government. On November 13, 1878, the Legitimists, the Orleanists, and the Imperialists united in a manifesto regarding the way in which the senatorial elections were conducted. And on the twenty-fifth of the same month a letter from the Count of Chambord was published, in which he asserted his rights as strongly as ever. But such utterances merely served to show that the enemies of the Republic had not given up hope. They excited little interest, and had no visible effect. Every year the Royalists and Bonapartists seemed less likely to realize their ambitions. Their claim had always been that a republic could not maintain itself in France. That a republic had now maintained itself for nearly a decade proved that the claim was false. It had taken only six years for monarchy, under Charles X., to bring on a revolution. So, when the Count of Chambord proclaimed, in 1879, "With the coöperation of all honest men, and the grace of God, I may save France, and will," he only made himself and his cause absurd. France was on the way of progress; and so far as she needed salvation she could not find it from a bigoted and intolerant Bourbon. She had tried that method of salvation, and it had brought her the excesses of 1789.

MacMahon had reconciled himself to a Republican administration, but he did not enjoy it. He saw his own arrangements one after another set aside. Finally, when it was proposed to remove his old military associates from their commands, he determined to lay down his office. For he had served with these men under the Empire; and his honor as a soldier bade him stand or fall with them. On January 30 he sent in a resignation couched in dignified language, and casting no aspersions upon his Ministers.

President MacMahon was not a Republican, but none the less he had done the Republic good service. The popular idea regarding his civic career does him scant justice. For the facts especially remembered in connection with him are, that he was elected by the Royalists, that he forced reactionist ministries upon the nation, interfered with the freedom of elections, and sustained his old military associates against the national will as expressed by the administration. But it is not to be forgotten that he would not betray the Republic into the hands of the Monarchists, and that he never refused to accept the verdict of the people when it had made itself clearly manifest. In trying to control elections he made a grievous mistake, and showed that he understood very imperfectly the nature of popular government. But, in resisting the nation's voice until it became imperative, he acted as the Duke of Wellington did in opposing liberal legislation. Wellington resisted progress until he saw that resistance meant revolution; but at that point he gave way. He therefore stands as an admirable type of the conservative statesman, who checks legislation without thwarting it. MacMahon cannot be compared with him in statesmanlike grasp. He lacked the political sagacity which Wellington got from his Anglo-Saxon blood and traditions. But in making the French people assert their will, and in bowing to that will, however reluctantly, he had done democracy a service. He had shown the proper limits of conservative opposition.

On the same day that MacMahon tendered his resignation the Senate and the Assembly met, for the first time in joint session, to elect a president in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution; and they chose M. Jules Grévy by an overwhelming majority. The new President was a moderate

Republican, a man now seventy-two years old, who had long commanded the confidence of the nation by his discretion and his integrity. Under him the country felt eminently safe. A period of progress and quiet was inaugurated by his firm and dignified conduct of affairs.

At the same time some burning questions had to be settled, and dangers which did not lessen as time went on had to be faced. The Communists, many of whom had been condemned to exile and imprisonment during MacMahon's presidency, clamored for a full pardon for political offences. The Broglie ministry had clung to power in defiance of the Constitution, and some Republicans demanded that it be impeached. And public instruction was to be taken out of the hands of the priests.

These questions were settled, not without some difficulty. A bill practically granting full amnesty was finally passed, in 1880, after encountering some opposition in the Senate. De Broglie and his colleagues were not impeached, but a resolution declaring that they had betrayed the Republic was passed in the Assembly and placarded in every commune in the nation. No doubt De Broglie had violated the spirit of the Constitution; but to condemn him without a trial seemed a travesty of justice, especially considering that almost every government for a hundred years had resorted to more or less high-handed measures. But if this arbitrary action of the Assembly called forth some indignant protests, it did not excite the commotion that was caused in settling the educational question. The Government in trying to control the priests was drawn into a conflict with the Church. The Jesuits in particular resisted the attempt to interfere with their methods, for they owned a considerable number of educational institutions. But the warfare once engaged in was vigorously carried on; and, finally, the institutions of the Jesuits were closed.

In this crusade against the priests, and in the matter of the amnesty, a potent and commanding influence had been exercised by Léon Gambetta. Ever since the establishment of the Republic, in 1871, this brilliant man had been growing in power. It was he who had offered the most energetic and audacious resistance to MacMahon's arbitrary policy. Indeed, he had not hesitated to denounce the President in language so

pointed that the Government twice sentenced him to fine and imprisonment. Yet it refrained from carrying out its own sentence, for it did not dare to order his arrest. With the populace Gambetta's influence was unbounded. He had a commanding presence and was gifted with a fiery eloquence which thrilled and delighted the excitable Celtic mind. His opinions, moreover, made him popular; for he was a radical, though not an extremist. He had therefore attained to an almost dictatorial position in the early years of Grévy's administration. He had the power to make and unmake ministers; but for a time he preferred to exercise this power behind the scenes, and to remain an ordinary member of the Assembly rather than to discharge the functions of office. But his ascendency finally made his acceptance of office unavoidable. He was made President of the Chamber of Deputies in 1879; in 1881 he became Prime Minister, and served in that position till he was defeated in the Assembly in 1882. But his brilliant career was suddenly cut short. He died in Paris in December, 1882, at the age of forty-four. He had been a tower of strength to the Republic, and his loss was deeply mourned. Yet he was rather a politician than a statesman; and his death hardly altered the course of national affairs.

None the less France sorely needed every able and loyal servant she could command. For all was not well with the Republic. Its stability was menaced by various adverse conditions. True, it had been strengthened by its conflict with MacMahon; it seemingly had a prosperous career under Grévy's administration. For the nation was growing in wealth and power. The international exposition at Paris, in 1878, had made this apparent. Yet dangers existed; and some of them seemed to become more formidable as the years passed by. The following were the graver features of the situation:

I. The financial condition of the nation was far from satisfactory. The debt was alarmingly great and the revenue insufficient. The cost of the Franco-Prussian War had been enormous, for the expense of conducting it had been very heavy apart from the indemnity of a billion dollars paid to Germany. But the truth was, the debt had been growing through the entire century. Neither monarchy nor empire had administered the national finances with discretion. In-

come had fallen below expenditure, and the deficiency had been made good by loans. Hence, the debt was very large before the War of 1870; and when the indemnity had been paid to Germany, it had risen to more than six billion dollars. But so large a debt involved the need of an enormous revenue; for the annual interest on loans was in itself a heavy item of expenditure. And this revenue the Government found itself unable to provide. Every year it had to raise more than six hundred million dollars; and every year it resorted to additional loans in order to meet its expenses. So the Republic was pursuing the same fatuous financial policy that had characterized preceding governments. True, the deficit was not large, and by skilful manipulation of figures it was sometimes entirely concealed. Moreover, the nation was growing in wealth, and its accumulated capital was many times larger than its indebtedness. National bankruptcy, therefore, was not impending. That the nation would sometime repudiate its debts no one could believe. Yet the annual failure to make income meet expenditure was an unfortunate, not to say a menacing situation.

II. The Republic was not supported by a dominant and undivided party in the Assembly. The Royalists and Bonapartists were hostile; the Republicans were divided into factions. The latter were largely in the majority in the Chamber of Deputies. Whenever they united to help the Government, they were able to carry any measure that they pleased. But they represented men of diverse and almost contradictory opinions. There were Conservatives, Moderates, Radicals, Extremists, and Anarchists; and some of these factions were thoroughly hostile to each other. The Conservatives were rather inclined to accept the Republic on trial than to believe in it heartily. Like Thiers, whom they followed while he lived, they believed that progress should be made slowly and cautiously, and that sweeping and radical measures of reform should not be countenanced. The Moderates, or Opportunists, as they were termed, had been followers of Gambetta, and represented opinions which were liberal without being extreme. More thoroughly devoted to the Republican idea than the Conservatives, they were not in full sympathy with the Radicals, who were eager for immediate and fundamental changes. The election of the chief magistrate of the nation by popular bal-

lot, and the immediate separation of Church and State, were the two most prominent features of the radical programme. The Extremists and the Communists were not numerically important, but they tried to make up for their weakness by noise and turbulence. Some of them were Anarchists of the most pronounced type, who delighted in revolution and destruction.

The nobility of France was bitterly opposed to the Republic and stood ready to take advantage of any opportunity to destroy it. Some of its members were Monarchists, some were Imperialists; nearly all were convinced that Republican principles were dangerous. The Imperialists suffered some loss of prestige when the Prince Imperial, the only son of Napoleon III., was killed in South Africa, in 1879. After his death most of his party adopted, as their head, Prince Napoleon, son of Jerome Napoleon and nephew of the great Emperor. But a few attached themselves to his son, Prince Victor. The Monarchists, who were more numerous and more influential than the Imperialists, looked to the Count of Paris as their head after the death of the Count of Chambord, in 1883. They were not active and aggressive, but they had by no means given up the hope of reëstablishing the monarchy. Not over-scrupulous, they were ready to use any political adventurer as a tool for overturning the Government and crowning the royal candidate. And if they did not openly assail the Republic, they absolutely refused to support or encourage it. It was a fixed principle with them and the Bonapartists to stand aloof from the Government and to accept no office under it. So firmly was this code adhered to that disobedience to it involved loss of caste. For many years, therefore, the younger members of the aristocracy did not dare to give the Republic a loyal support, even if they were imbued with liberal principles, as was sometimes the case.

Altogether the warfare of factions was disturbing, and stood in the way of settled policy and steady progress.[1]

[1] Time has rather intensified than diminished this factional warfare. The *Revue Politique et Parlementaire*, 10 Août, 1899, contains an article entitled "De la Dissociation et de la Concentration des Parties Politiques," in which the disintegration of parties is admitted and deplored, and a peculiar remedy is suggested. For the author recommends that no party should govern the country, however large its majority, but that every party should have a share in the government in proportion to its strength among the constituencies. A thoroughly French view of politics.

III. The spirit of chauvinism was leading the whole nation astray. The French are fond of military glory. They cannot forget defeat and humiliation. The reverses of the Franco-Prussian War had wounded the national pride almost beyond endurance. A long line of past victories seemed to demand that the disgrace of Sedan be wiped out. To win back Alsace and Lorraine had become the deep and passionate desire of the whole French people. To this end they were willing to undergo any sacrifice and to put forth every exertion. The national honor must be vindicated at any cost. Hence, the army was reorganized, military training was made rigid and universal; the whole country seemed to echo with warlike preparation and high-sounding military sentiment. To this spirit the term "chauvinism" has been aptly applied ever since a soldier named Chauvin made himself conspicuous under the first Napoleon by his loud and foolish boasting. From his name comes the term, which has been well defined as "unreasoning, irascible, and vainglorious patriotism." It was just this exaggerated patriotism that now animated the mind of the French. It made the people lose all sense of proportion and just values in national affairs. To them political growth, educational reform, stability of government, and commercial prosperity had less importance than the reconquest of lost territory and the recovery of lost military glory. So the nation turned away from those ideals of peaceful progress that belong peculiarly to democratic countries and to the closing decades of the nineteenth century. It deliberately adopted the policy of maintaining a large standing army at great expense; and it looked eagerly around for an ally among the first-rate military powers of Europe. Germany had strengthened herself by the Triple Alliance; so France courted the friendship of Russia. And while the two nations hardly came to a definite understanding, it was quite generally assumed that, if a European war should break out, Russia would side with France and give her substantial support. But as time passed the probability that France would humble Germany grew more and more remote. The population of France remained almost stationary; that of Germany increased rapidly, in spite of extensive emigration. And although the French army equalled the German in point of numbers, no competent

judges believed that French gallantry was a match for the disciplined German intelligence. But still France clung with marvellous tenacity to the vanishing hope of reconquest, and draped with mourning in her public squares statues marked Alsace and Lorraine.

IV. The centralization established by Napoleon I., and never done away with by succeeding governments, was working the Republic harm. It prevented the administration from truly expressing the national will. For the President and the Ministry do not hold their power as the gift of the people like the English Prime Minister and his Cabinet. The President does not receive the sanction of a popular vote; and the ministry represents individual popularity rather than party policy. In England the defeat of a ministry means that the party for which it stands has lost its majority and must appeal to the country. In France the fall of a ministry only means that its head no longer commands the confidence of the Chamber of Deputies, and must give way to some more popular man. Hence, ministries rise and fall in rapid succession, while yet the Government's policy does not materially change. For that policy is not in the main dictated by the people through its representatives. The Government is so strongly centralized that it can to a considerable degree force its own policy upon the nation. It can make its authority felt in every commune; and so long as it does not run counter to national prejudice and feeling, it can be arbitrary and dictatorial. But this very power brings with it great temptations. French bureaucracy is corrupt; yet its officials are too strongly entrenched behind the Government's authority to be reached and controlled.

Altogether it was becoming apparent that democracy could not be the same thing in France that it is in a thoroughly democratic country like America. The party system in France is peculiar to a nation with ancient traditions, in that it puts privilege against progress. Moreover, the Republicans themselves have failed to unite in support of a moderate, definite, and progressive policy. Divided into factions as they are, they cannot stand in solid opposition to the reactionists as the Liberals are arrayed against the Conservatives in England. True, there are divisions among the English Liberals, but they do not prevent the party from following one leader and from

working together in matters of grave importance. But the French Radicals are not easily led and controlled by the Government Republicans.

In spite of obstacles, however, Grévy's administration continued firm and vigorous. He was reëlected to the presidency on December 28, 1885, and under his wise and conservative management of affairs the Republic gained in strength and popularity, though it could not yet rise above the fear of Royalist machinations. It still regarded the Monarchists with dread; and in June, 1886, it took bold and decided measures against them. The heads of dynastic families were banished from France; and the Ministry was empowered to banish junior members of these families if such a step at any time seemed necessary. The Count of Paris and Victor Napoleon, who was now the recognized head of the Bonapartists, were thus forced to leave their country. The former went to England, where refugees have so often found an asylum; the latter retired to Brussels.

Though this arbitrary action was a confession of weakness, it was not without justification. About this time General Boulanger, the Minister of War, began to grow popular in Paris; and as his popularity increased the Royalists planned to use him as a tool for upsetting the Republic. But before the Boulanger movement assumed formidable proportions, the attention of the country was absorbed by a scandal which brought M. Grévy's presidency to a sudden termination. It was found that General Caffarel had been selling the coveted ribbon of the Legion of Honor. A certain Madame Limousin had conducted the negotiations between him and would-be purchasers of the decoration; and from her the affair took the name of the "Limousin Scandal." M. Wilson, President Grévy's son-in-law, proved to be implicated. He was said to have decorated the builder of his house for a consideration. He had also abused M. Grévy's stamp privilege; and when he found his character impeached, he refunded forty thousand francs for stamps before any demand was made upon him. M. Grévy himself was neither implicated nor suspected. His honesty was above reproach. But he felt himself involved in his son-in-law's disgrace, and reluctantly laid down his office. His resignation was tendered on December 2, 1887; and M. Sadi-Carnot was

chosen to succeed him. M. Carnot was not regarded as a very strong or able man, but rather as a safe one. The two most prominent candidates for the presidency were M. Ferry and M. Freycinet; but they failed to be elected, because each of them, by reason of his very brilliancy, aroused mistrust.

M. Carnot did not belie expectations. He proved a moderate, cautious, and conservative head of the nation; and during his administration the Republic continued to make headway. For a time the Boulanger movement caused excitement and appeared slightly threatening; but Boulanger's own character deprived it of solid strength. He was simply an excitable, vainglorious Frenchman; an excellent embodiment of the spirit of chauvinism. In genius and first-rate courage he was lacking. But he was idolized by the populace of Paris, and he showed some organizing ability in leading and directing them. All those who were discontented with the Republic rallied about him, and for several years he was a standing menace to French politics. He was returned to the Chamber of Deputies more than once by enormous majorities, and there he appeared as the champion of all the malcontents. The clergy, the Royalists, the Imperialists, and the Socialists united in support of his schemes, which began to look toward terminating the Republic. But in 1888 he was severely wounded in a duel with a citizen, Prime Minister Floquet; and he suffered some loss of prestige. In 1889 he was found guilty of embezzlement; and, on being accused of conspiring against the Republic, he fled to Great Britain. But his trial went on, notwithstanding his absence, and he was sentenced to transportation for life. In 1891 he committed suicide. Before his death it transpired that the Duchess d'Uzès had furnished three million francs to support the movement in his favor, with the understanding that the money was to be refunded to her if the Count of Paris was placed upon the throne.

The Boulanger movement, with its vicissitudes and its excitements, did not obscure the growth of the nation. The international exposition at Paris in 1889 gave striking proof of the industrial energy of the country. In completeness and variety it surpassed all other expositions that had been given; and it served as an argument for the Republic. For the form

of government that could so encourage prosperity hardly needed to be set aside.

In 1891 a declaration of Cardinal Lavigerie, famous for his exertions against the slave-trade in Africa, showed that the Republic was growing in stability and favor. For this eminent prelate declared it to be the only possible form of government for France; and several archbishops and bishops of the country expressed their approval of his utterance. Nor were there wanting occasional signs that the younger members of the nobility were ready to give the Government loyal service and to abandon monarchy as a lost cause.

But the Government received a severe blow in 1893, when the Panama scandal was exposed. It was found that a large portion of the money invested in the canal scheme had been used for corrupt purposes. The press had been bought. Senators and deputies had been bribed. After a long investigation a number of prominent men were committed for trial. M. de Lesseps, the originator of the project, and his son Charles were sentenced to imprisonment for five years and to a fine of three thousand francs each. Several others were convicted, but they received sentences less severe. But these findings were quashed by a higher court. Only Charles de Lesseps was imprisoned, and he was liberated after a short time. But the canal scheme for the time fell through. The original stockholders lost practically the whole billion francs which they had invested in the enterprise. But in 1894 they formed a new company, which attempted to complete the work. The original plan of a tide water canal was abandoned in favor of one with locks, though even this modified scheme was pronounced unwise by some engineering experts.

In spite of the canal scandal, with its attendant disclosures of corruption, the Republicans won a signal victory in the national elections of 1893. In the new Chamber of Deputies the Government supporters numbered 292; while the Royalists and Imperialists together numbered but 58. But the Socialist Radicals made great and surprising gains. In the early years of Grévy's administration they were a mere handful in the Chamber of Deputies. In the newly elected Chamber they counted 187 members. They could not, indeed, control legislation, but they were formidable, and might become dangerous if their numbers increased.

Carnot's administration gave general satisfaction, and it was fully expected that he would be reëlected to the presidency. But on June 24, 1894, not very long before his term was to expire, he was assassinated at Lyons by an anarchist named Cesario Santo. M. Casimir-Périer, who had been for some time prominent in French politics and had already served as Prime Minister, was immediately chosen to be the nation's executive. In this same year, on September 9, occurred the death of the Count of Paris. His son, the Duke of Orleans, became the new claimant for the throne; but he lacked his father's dignity of character. He had shown himself frivolous and unworthy. The monarchist cause seemed discredited under such leadership.

The nomination of M. Casimir-Périer was acceptable to the country. But on January 15, 1895, only about six months after he had taken office, came the startling news of his resignation. He alleged that a campaign of insult and slander was being carried on against himself, the army, the magistracy, and the legislature; and he made some blind allusions to his own powerlessness. But the real cause of his strange action was not revealed. He was immediately succeeded by M. Felix Faure, a self-made man of considerable ability, who had held several cabinet positions under different ministries. M. Faure proved on the whole an efficient executive, and for a time, both politically and socially, he grew in favor. Always dignified and self-possessed, he filled most acceptably the more external functions of his office, and met the crowned heads of Europe with a bearing that satisfied the fastidious French people. But in time it became apparent that he lacked strength of character and true greatness of mind. Accordingly, when a crisis came, he was utterly unable to lead the nation which had honored him with its highest office.

It was a very serious crisis that came during President Faure's administration, and for a time it seemed likely to end in the overthrow of the Republic. On December 31, 1894, Captain Alfred Dreyfus of the French army was sentenced to degradation from his rank and to life exile and imprisonment because of alleged treasonable correspondence with foreign powers. The sentence was passed by a court of French army officers, and it was accepted as just by the army and the

French people generally. Indeed, the feeling against Dreyfus was intense; for he was a Hebrew, and all who could be swayed by the widespread anti-Semitic prejudice reviled and execrated his name. But his trial had been a secret one, and some men of probity and discernment doubted the justice of the verdict. Colonel Picquart, head of the Secret Service Bureau, was one of Dreyfus's most stalwart champions; M. Scheurer-Kestner, of the Senate, was strongly inclined to believe in his innocence; and some of the ablest writers in Paris eventually took up his cause, though the press was for the most part bitterly hostile to him. Of these writers M. Émile Zola, the famous novelist, was the most conspicuous and the most outspoken.

But although Dreyfus did not lack friends, it was not until the latter part of 1897 that his case began to attract general interest and to cause serious agitation and disturbance. By that time, however, it had become widely suspected that Colonel Esterhazy, a military adventurer, was the author of the *bordereau*, or document, which Dreyfus had been accused of writing, and on account of which he had been condemned. Accordingly, Esterhazy was tried by a court-martial in January, 1898. He was acquitted, but the court that made the investigation was so manifestly biassed in his favor that M. Zola denounced its proceedings as a mockery of justice. As his charges affected the honor of the Government, he was himself prosecuted, and was sentenced to a fine of three thousand francs and to imprisonment for four months. But in his trial also there was an utter lack of fair play, and his sentence was quashed by the Court of Cassation, the supreme tribunal of justice in France. The Government thereupon decided upon a fresh prosecution; but as M. Zola found that he would not be allowed to establish his case by using evidence bearing upon the question of Dreyfus's innocence, he let the second trial go by default, and he was now sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment and to a fine of three thousand francs. But he left Paris before the judgment was formally communicated to him.

These proceedings had brought the Dreyfus affair prominently before the French nation; but the whole military party was arrayed against the condemned man, and it was with great

difficulty that the revision of his case which his friends demanded was obtained. President Faure, who should have used the weight of his position in favor of revision, would do nothing for the prisoner; and a powerful coterie of army officers tried to establish Dreyfus's guilt by the most unscrupulous methods. They did not hesitate to disseminate falsehoods and to forge incriminating documents; and finding that Colonel Picquart stood in the way of their schemes, they succeeded in placing him in prison on a charge of forgery. But after a time their infamies came to light. On August 30, 1898, Colonel Henry, one of the band of conspirators, on being closely questioned by the Minister of War, admitted that he had forged a certain important letter, "because of the absolute necessity for finding proofs against Dreyfus." He was immediately arrested, and only two days later he was found dead in prison. Whether he committed suicide or was murdered by those who had made him their tool, was not surely known. But his death and his confession of guilt made a profound impression upon the French people and caused a reaction in Dreyfus's favor. Even the Government, which had used its influence against him, no longer dared to oppose revision, and his case was accordingly brought before the Court of Cassation in October, 1898.

This action might fairly have been expected to quiet feeling and to cause both the enemies and the friends of Dreyfus to await with calmness the verdict of so weighty a tribunal. But the contrary was the case. The Dreyfus affair was more and more searchingly probed by the press, and the crooked and dishonorable ways of the military were so fully revealed that the army began to lose its prestige. How then should it vindicate itself before the nation? By a *coup d'état* it was prophesied by many; and their expectation was not wholly groundless. The Duke of Orleans and Prince Louis Napoleon[1] each stood ready to enter France and overthrow the Republic, if a fitting opportunity presented itself.

But the generals were either too loyal or too timid to inaugurate a revolution, and even when the nation was left tempo-

[1] Prince Victor, the older brother of Louis, is the recognized head of the Imperialists (p. 62). But Louis, as possessing greater energy and ability than his brother, seemed better fitted to be the head of a revolutionary movement.

rarily without a head there was no outbreak. On the evening of February 16, 1899, President Faure died suddenly of apoplexy; but two days later M. Émile Loubet, an eminent[1] and widely respected man, was quietly elected to the vacant office, and there was no attempt to overthrow the Government beyond an incendiary but utterly futile appeal to the military on the part of one misguided individual. Thus the Republic scored a notable triumph; for M. Loubet was a man of sterling integrity, and though he had not openly expressed himself in favor of Dreyfus, no one doubted that he wished to see justice done and that he would uphold the Court of Cassation's verdict.

That verdict was given early in June and was in favor of Dreyfus. The Court expressed its profound conviction that the prisoner had been condemned on insufficient evidence, and that there were grave reasons for considering Colonel Esterhazy the guilty person. It therefore ordered a new trial. To meet this requirement of the Court, Dreyfus was brought back from Devil's Island, off the coast of French Guiana, where he had been confined; and after a few weeks was court-martialed anew at Rennes. But his second trial, although not secret like the first, was also nothing better than a travesty of justice. It began on August 7 and lasted for five weeks, during which time many witnesses were called to the stand by the prosecution and by the defence, and a large number of documents that were supposed to bear upon the case were examined. The evidence against the accused was too weak to be worthy of serious consideration, and could not possibly have procured his conviction in any fair-minded court. But the court was not fair-minded. It was composed of seven army officers, and was therefore under that baleful shadow of militarism that was enshrouding the nation. Hence, although Dreyfus was ably defended by Maître Labori, the distinguished lawyer who had pleaded so powerfully at M. Zola's trial, he was found guilty and was sentenced to imprisonment for ten years. But the Government did not allow the sentence to stand. Upon the recommendation of General Gallifet, the Minister of War, Dreyfus was promptly pardoned by President Loubet and was

[1] M. Loubet had been National Deputy, Senator, Minister of Public Works, Prime Minister, and President of the Senate.

thus saved from further confinement, though his honor was not cleared.[1]

In recommending the pardon of Dreyfus, General Gallifet announced that "the incident was closed." But such was not the view of sober-minded people the world over who had followed the course of this extraordinary case. A grave injustice had been done, and it remained to be seen whether the French people had the moral strength to right so monstrous a wrong. It was useless to assert that the condemned man had sold secrets to the very allies of France, and that his treasonable doings could not be brought to light without endangering the safety of the nation. The one fact which the world noted was that Dreyfus was never proved guilty. So far as the evidence went, he was an innocent man. It was therefore necessary for the honor of the nation that a verdict which was in utter defiance of law and justice should not go unrighted. To allow it to stand was to acknowledge that the civil power was subservient to the military, and that the republican institutions of the country did not insure the rights of the individual. Government by the people does not exist where a ring of unscrupulous generals can dominate the courts and defeat the ends of justice.

But even if the verdict given at Rennes were to be altered by a higher tribunal, the question would still arise, what political gains have been made by the French nation since 1789? The history of more than a hundred years shows revolution, upheaval, restlessness under every form of government, and at

[1] Dreyfus is not the only one who has suffered from the inability of French judges to free their minds from prejudice and render their verdict in accordance with facts. The injustice of his sentence may well call to mind the case of the Siamese officer, Pra Yaut, who was condemned by a French court on equally insufficient evidence. While Siam was at war with France in 1893, Pra Yaut, with a force of Siamese soldiers, attacked a French post on the river Mekong, not knowing that the ground where the French were encamped had been newly ceded to France by the Siamese Government. In the course of the engagement the commander of the French post, M. Grosgurin, was killed, and the French accordingly demanded that Pra Yaut should be tried for murder by French judges. This demand the Siamese sovereign, King Chulalongkorn, resisted; but he gave way when a French fleet blockaded the Menam River in July, 1893. Although Pra Yaut was ably defended and his innocence of wrong intent was clearly shown, he was condemned by his French judges to twenty years of hard labor. Consult *Contemporary Review*, 71: 890.

the end a whole people blinded to right and honor by their military idols. Was it for this that the third estate assumed control of the nation and sent Louis XVI. to the scaffold? Surely democracy should mean something better than political instability and corrupt centralization.

But a sober view of this very century of disquietude shows that the will of the people, though not always dominant, has yet been respected and has stood in the way of unbridled license and tyranny. It was the voice of the people that compelled Louis XVIII. to govern by a Constitution, overthrew Charles X., established Louis Philippe as a "citizen king" and finally drove him into exile, brought the glittering thraldom of the Second Napoleon's reign to an end, and prevented a restoration of the bigoted Bourbon line. French people do not indeed assert themselves as the members of a democracy always must assert themselves, if they would secure the largest freedom and build up a great and noble commonwealth. But they have made it plain that they will not allow themselves to be trampled under foot, and it may be doubted whether an autocratic rule like that which now oppresses Germany could possibly exist in France.[1] The very frequency of revolutions during the last hundred years has had its salutary lessons. For no form of government would now dare to establish a régime of tyranny and oppression. To do so would merely hasten its downfall.

It may well be questioned, therefore, whether the Republic is near its end. Surely the reactionists have little to gain by setting up a kingdom or an empire. Without the aid of a man of genius they could not maintain such a régime for a single decade. Nor are the signs of the dissolution of the Republic as near as is frequently assumed. Prophecies of its speedy downfall have been rife ever since it was founded, and it must be admitted that it is beset by many dangers. Official corruption, disloyalty in high circles, inadequate parliamentary representation,[2] the dominance of militarism, and the indifference of the French peasantry to self-government, all threaten its existence, and while it lives it will doubtless have a troubled and

[1] The better side of French political and industrial life is well presented in "What the World owes to France," *The Forum*, 28: 283.

[2] *Fortnightly Review*, 68: 536.

precarious life. Yet it may thrive even amid excitement and alarms. For turmoil, change, and excitement seem to compose the Frenchman's native element. These things appeal to the excitable Celtic mind, which loves anything better than monotony and unvarying routine. Hence a condition of affairs that would portend ruin and catastrophe in England may be normal and not menacing in France. Even when Paris was most excited over the Dreyfus controversy, its populace was as eager as ever in the pursuit of pleasure, and seemed to regard politics chiefly as a means of affording interesting sensations. Not turbulence, then, but the strong man, is what the Republic has to dread. A seemingly grave crisis may bring no real danger, unless there appears with it the hero who captivates the mind of the nation. Not a pseudo-hero like Boulanger; not a weakling, who presses the claims of a worn-out dynasty. The Republic is too securely founded to be overturned by a man of straw. But the great Napoleon's career might to some extent be repeated by one who had Napoleon's power over men.

France has an area of 204,092 square miles, and a population of not quite 39,000,000. The annual expenditure has now reached the figure of $700,000,000.

The Government is the Republic established by the Constitution adopted in 1875, and revised in 1884 and 1885. The legislative power is vested in a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. These two Houses meet in joint session to choose a President, whose term is fixed at seven years. But he may be reëlected. He appoints and dismisses the Prime Minister and his Cabinet; promulgates the laws and sees that they are executed; disposes of the army and navy; has the right of pardoning individuals; and makes all civil and military appointments. He cannot veto laws which the Assembly passes, but can only request a reconsideration of them. The Chamber of Deputies consists of 584 members: 6 of these are for Algeria and 10 for the Colonies. They are chosen for a term of four years by universal suffrage. Every man can vote who is twenty-one years old and has resided for two years in any one town or canton. But convicts and deserters are dis-

franchised. A deputy must be a citizen and must be twenty-five years old. The Senate is composed of 300 members, who are elected for a term of nine years. A third of their number retires every three years. When the Senate was originally organized 75 of its members were appointed for life. But in 1884 it was enacted that as vacancies occurred among these life senatorships they should be filled by election in the ordinary way. In France, as in the United States, the senators are not directly chosen by the people. In each department they are appointed by a body composed of delegates from the communes, or municipalities, the members of the council general, and the deputies of the department. A senator must be forty years of age. Both senators and deputies are paid for their services.

The local administration of France is largely in the hands of the central Government. The country is divided into 87 departments, including Belfort, which has the character of one; 362 arrondissements; 2871 cantons; and 36,121 communes. At the head of each department is a prefect appointed by the Government, who has large executive powers. In the management of local affairs he is assisted by a council general chosen by universal suffrage. Similarly, there is a sub-prefect, also appointed by the Government, in the chief town of each arrondissement; and he is assisted by an arrondissement council, also chosen by universal suffrage. The canton is the seat of a justice of the peace, but has no organized government like that of the department and the arrondissement. Each commune is governed by a mayor with the help of one or more assistants, according to its size, and a municipal council. The members of the council are elected by universal suffrage, and they elect the mayor from their own number. As the mayor represents the central Government as well as the commune his duties are sometimes conflicting. The whole system of local government is so contrived as to give enormous power to the central authority of the nation. Through the prefects and the sub-prefects, the Government can make itself felt in every community in the land, and can largely direct the management of local affairs.

The judicial system of France is not materially different from that established by Napoleon in his Consulate. Simplic-

ity and uniformity are its characteristics. It recognizes two distinct classes of courts: (1) civil and criminal; (2) administrative. But apart from these there are a few special courts.

The civil and criminal courts consist of (1) the court of justice of the peace in each canton; (2) the correctional court in each arrondissement; (3) twenty-six courts of appeal in the principal cities of France; (4) the Court of Cassation, which sits at Paris, and is the supreme court of appeal for the whole country. Administrative courts try only those cases in which the administration is interested. The cardinal principle of French law is that every case may be heard in more than one court. Judges are appointed by the head of the State, and cannot be removed except by the consent of the Court of Cassation. In serious criminal cases a jury is employed and decides whether the accused is guilty by a majority vote. About eighty per cent of the population is Roman Catholic, but all religions are equal before the law, and every sect which numbers a hundred thousand is entitled to a grant from the State.

Education has made great strides since the Republic was established, and the percentage of illiteracy is rapidly diminishing. The Government supervises all public instruction, including that of the highest schools or universities. The public schoolmaster is a State official. He is appointed by the prefect of his department, and on retiring is entitled to a pension. Primary education is compulsory for all children between the ages of six and fourteen; and is gratuitous. For the purposes of secondary education many schools and colleges have been established throughout the country. But their courses are not compulsory or free. Higher education is given in the Faculties, which furnish instruction in law, medicine, science, letters, and theology. There are sixteen of these Faculties in France; but the most celebrated is the one at Paris, where nearly ten thousand students are sometimes enrolled.

The most important industry in France is agriculture, which occupies one-half of the population. But France imports much more food than she exports; and she also depends on other countries for her raw materials. But her manufacturing interests are extensive, and her exports of cotton, woollen, and silk fabrics, fancy goods, and leather articles, are considerable. She also exports much wine; but in some years she imports

more. The yearly income of her population is estimated to be six or seven billions of dollars, or a sum which may be roughly computed as equal to her national debt. The total capital of a nation is always estimated with difficulty, on account of the constant fluctuation in values, and the unceasing accumulation of capital. But the capital of France is probably not far below $50,000,000,000.

Even with this enormous total of wealth, it is difficult to raise the annual income. The Government employs both direct and indirect taxation. France has adopted the policy of protection, and derives large revenues from the tax on imports. She also raises considerable sums by controlling four monopolies, viz. tobacco, gunpowder, matches, posts and telegraphs. Without the returns from these monopolies the task of raising a sufficient revenue would be much more serious and difficult. There are four principal direct taxes, which, with some minor taxes, yield $100,000,000 annually. They are the Land Tax; the Personelle-mobilière Tax; the Door and Window Tax; and the License Tax.

France maintains an army of about 525,000 men. Her navy is second only to that of England.

CHAPTER V

ITALY

The Italian peninsula has often been the scene of discord and fierce contention. Not easily have its races blended to form a united people. For the native temper is jealous and stubborn. Rome found it a difficult task to subdue the various tribes and to make them entirely submissive to her rule. When her grasp upon them was relinquished, they became a prey to the invading races, and unity disappeared. But gradually the native peoples asserted themselves. They acquired a new civilization more brilliant than the Roman. Other cities became centres of learning and culture and gave to the fine arts unparalleled development. But they could not unite. Italy was once more divided into dissentient and conflicting powers, as she had been before the days of Roman supremacy. Guelfs and Ghibellines waged fierce war upon each other. Between the great and powerful cities deadly feuds arose. So once more did invaders come over the Alpine barrier and trample Italy under foot. Seeing her weakness, the Northern nations found her a tempting prize. France began the task of despoiling her in 1492. Other nations joined in the work and made it but too complete. Italy passed almost entirely under foreign rule.

Hence, the condition of the Italian people toward the close of the eighteenth century was a peculiarly unhappy one. Not only did they lack national unity and constitutional rights, but they did not really have possession of their own country. The so-called Republic of Venice still lingered on and was not dissolved until 1797. And Savoy, Piedmont, and Sardinia were under the ancient house of Savoy, the heads of which might fairly be considered Italian princes. But the rest of Italy was in alien hands. The States of the Church, that large tract of

land in the centre of the peninsula, was governed by the Pope, who in all things consulted first the interests of the Church rather than those of Italy. All the territory to the south of the States of the Church, together with Sicily, made the Two Sicilies and was governed by a Spanish line. In the north the duchy of Parma was also under a Spanish prince. France exercised a protectorate over Genoa and Modena. Austria had control over Milan, and Tuscany was governed by an Austrian duke.

Self-government, therefore, was needed by no people more than by the Italians. Under these alien rulers they could not be prosperous or happy. The dukes of Tuscany did indeed give their subjects a mild and beneficent rule during the latter half of the eighteenth century, but they were a shining exception among the Italian princes. Most of these petty despots took no interest in the peoples they governed, and allowed them no rights and privileges. Poverty and illiteracy were the peasant's lot. He was treated more like a chattel than a human being.

But Bonaparte's conquests in Italy inspired the Italian people with hope. In 1795 and 1796 the Austrians were thoroughly vanquished by the French, and the alien princes were unseated. Venice now lost her ancient institutions and was surrendered to Austria. The King of Sardinia retired from his dominions, and Pope Pius VI. fled to France. Republics were set up in place of the former tyrannies. Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt in 1798 resulted in a temporary loss of supremacy. The generals he had left in Italy could not hold their own when deprived of his leadership, but his reappearance on the scene in 1800 soon restored his sway over the whole peninsula. It was not, however, to give the Italians self-government that he returned. He swept away old abuses, and gave the country a far more enlightened rule than it had known under its despotic princes. But he made Italy contribute to his own power and advancement. Out of its northern portion he formed a kingdom for himself, after becoming Emperor; and Naples he made subject to his brother Joseph, and afterwards to his marshal, Murat, who had married his sister Caroline. He finally annexed the States of the Church, deposing Pius VII. as summarily as he had dealt with Pius VI.

And such portions of the peninsula as still remained he used as prizes for his generals and relatives.

Naturally these arrangements could not outlast Napoleon's own tenure of power. The Congress of Vienna made short work with them and reëstablished the old despotisms. Venice and Milan were restored to Austria; and Austrian princes were placed over Tuscany and Modena. The Spanish-Bourbon line, represented by Ferdinand I., resumed its sway over Naples; and Parma also was given back to the Bourbons in the end, though Maria Louisa, Napoleon's wife, ruled it through her lifetime. Piedmont and Sardinia were restored to Victor Emmanuel I., of the House of Savoy, and Genoa was added to his possessions; and Pius VII. was reinstated over the States of the Church. Thus Italy was no better off than she had been before Napoleon's changes. Her rulers governed without Constitutions. Unity and liberty seemed far away. But the governments established by Napoleon had brought the day of deliverance nearer. They had been short-lived, but they had given the Italians glimpses of independence, of free institutions, and of national greatness, that were not forgotten.

It was over no willing subjects, then, that the alien princes assumed their despotic sway. And despotic enough that sway proved in most instances. Of the Austrian and Bourbon princes only the Duke of Tuscany showed any liberal sympathies. In the States of the Church it was even attempted to restore the Inquisition. And so the Italians organized in secret to accomplish the work of liberation. Secret societies spread throughout the country. The league of the Carbonari (charcoal burners), which had long been in existence, now numbered sixty thousand members. Everywhere the lovers of liberty worked and watched and waited. They were ready to strike at the smallest prompting.

In 1820 the prompting came, for the revolution in Spain that occurred in that year occasioned a ferment in Italy. On July 2 a lieutenant in a cavalry regiment serving under the King of Naples incited his soldiers to imitate the Spaniards and refuse to be subjects of a tyrant any longer. His soldiers took fire at his words and raised the banner of revolt. Their spirit was contagious. The movement rapidly spread. King Ferdinand was overawed, and granted the Spanish Constitution

which the Carbonari demanded. He even took a solemn oath to maintain it, in the presence of a large gathering of the people.

But his word proved utterly worthless. Metternich was alarmed at the strength of the revolutionary movement. He feared it would sweep through Italy and even into other countries, and he persuaded the Holy Alliance to suppress it. In 1821 Austrian troops were sent to restore Ferdinand to all his rights. Prussian troops were to reënforce them if necessary. The leaders of the revolution at Naples made only a feeble stand against this invasion of foreign forces. Unfortunately they had despatched the best of their troops to quell an uprising in Sicily, which had not only revolted against Ferdinand's government, but had endeavored to acquire complete independence and sever its connection with Naples altogether. So, thus weakened, the revolutionary party was easily dispersed. Ferdinand, strengthened by foreign bayonets, broke his oath, withdrew the Constitution he had granted, and reigned more despotically than ever. The press was placed under the strictest censorship; the schools were closed; the Carbonari were made the object of a relentless persecution.

Turin, the capital of the kingdom of Piedmont, was also the centre of a revolution. But here also the movement was signally defeated. The insurgents expected Milan to join in the revolt, and to form North Italy into a united kingdom. Their king should have headed the movement, which was aimed, not merely to secure constitutional rights, but to rid the country of Austrian rule. But Victor Emmanuel was himself a petty tyrant; and his brother Charles Felix, in whose favor he abdicated when the revolution became formidable, was a man of greater decision but equal intolerance. But in Charles Albert, a kindred prince of the House of Savoy, the revolutionists thought they had found a leader. This young man loved liberty and hated Austria; at the critical moment, however, he proved faint-hearted and untrustworthy. The revolution came to be little better than a farce, and the few insurgents who finally took the field were easily scattered. The principles of Metternich were triumphant in Piedmont as well as in Naples. The friends of liberty must again submit to watch and wait.

For ten years they waited, though they never ceased to labor in secret. The members of the Carbonari continually increased in numbers, and their influence was felt in every corner of Italy. In 1830 came the July Revolution in France which unseated Charles X., and once more the Italians rose for political freedom. This time the States of the Church and the duchies of Parma and Modena were the seats of revolutionary activity. In each of these districts an insurrection of formidable character broke out. In the States of the Church the death of Pope Pius VIII. in 1830 occasioned the uprising; for a discontented people naturally strikes for freedom when left without a ruler. But once more the hopes of Italy were blighted by Austrian interference. Austrian troops were sent into the disaffected states. The uprisings were easily put down, and their leaders were in some instances summarily dealt with. The Duke of Modena showed a peculiarly hard and resentful temper. Of the principal conspirators in his domain two were executed, while others were condemned to the galleys or thrown into prison.

After these discouraging failures the conspirators were more quiet for a time, yet they never lost their enthusiasm or their faith in their cause. They had gifted leaders who appealed to the liberal sentiment of Europe in Italy's behalf. One of the most distinguished of Italian patriots was Giuseppe Mazzini. A leading member of the Carbonari, he was betrayed in 1830, and withdrew to France. There he wrote much, kept in close communication with his fellow-patriots, and organized the society of Young Italy, which became famous all over Europe. Its objects were the freedom and unity of Italy; its means of obtaining them were education and insurrection. In 1832 the French Government denied Mazzini an asylum within its territory, and he took refuge in Switzerland. In 1834 he organized an invasion of the kingdom of Savoy; but this attempt at insurrection ended in utter failure. Mazzini and his fellow-conspirators were scattered by the first fire of the troops sent out to oppose them. Required to leave Switzerland in 1837, he found a home in London, where he remained for many years, calling attention to his country's wrongs and inciting his countrymen to rebellion. But the stirring events of 1848 drew him back to Italy. Visionary and romantic, he found his

calling in rousing enthusiasm and in making the cause of Italy known throughout Europe. Yet he took an active part in some of the revolutionary uprisings, and showed unusual executive ability.

Quite a different character was Giuseppe Garibaldi, born at Nice in 1807. If Mazzini's best weapon was the pen, his was unquestionably the sword. In foresight, cool deliberation, and broad statesmanship he was lacking; but his burning patriotism, his energy, his unequalled dash and daring, made him a splendid revolutionary leader. He hated tyranny and he loved to assail it, sword in hand, wheresoever opportunity offered. In 1834 he joined the Young Italy movement, and was condemned to death for taking part in an attempt to capture Genoa. Escaping, he made his way to South America, and there for some years he gave his services to the province of Rio Grande, which was in rebellion against the Emperor of Brazil. In 1848 he returned to his own country, and from that time on was closely identified with the Italian patriots in their struggle for independence. His bands of "red shirts" became famous, and he led them to many a victory. Unquestionably his daring and his irrepressible energy hastened the day of Italian freedom.

These two patriots were especially distinguished, but in their zeal and their single-hearted devotion they were but typical of the Italian temper. There were thousands equally ready to do and die for their country, and they kept Italy in a perpetual state of unrest. The whole soil was undermined with intrigue. The petty despots sat on tottering thrones. The fires of insurrection were always smouldering; a breath of encouragement might at any moment bring them to a flame.

In 1846 such encouragement came from a most unexpected quarter. Pius IX. succeeded in that year to the papal throne and showed himself a reformer. He mitigated the almost intolerable rule of his predecessor, Gregory XVI., granted an amnesty to political offenders, and set about framing a Constitution. Joy reigned throughout Italy. The cry for Constitutions echoed through the land and could not be resisted. Constitutions were granted in Tuscany and Piedmont in 1847. The duchy of Lucca now came to an end; for its duke abandoned his possessions, and they were annexed by Tuscany. In

February, 1848, occurred the outbreak in Paris against Louis Philippe, and Italy at once took fire. Sicily was already in insurrection. Naples also revolted, and King Ferdinand II. promised a liberal Constitution. Milan and Venice rose against Austria. The duchies of Parma and Modena were abandoned by their rulers, and provisional governments were established in them. The Duke of Tuscany also eventually abandoned his duchy through fear of the revolutionary movement. In Rome the moderate reform movement inaugurated by Pius IX. did not satisfy the radicals. Rossi, the liberal minister whom the Pope had chosen to carry out his plans, was assassinated. The Pope himself fled in disguise from his domains. A Republic was proclaimed, and the temporal sovereignty of the Church was for the time being brought to an end. Mazzini and his associates assumed control of the city.

Thus there was everywhere insurrection, and the hopes of Italy were high. But the revolution needed a leader. Charles Albert, who in 1831 had succeeded Charles Felix as King of Sardinia and Piedmont, seemed to be the only ruler who could inspire the confidence of the patriots. His liberal sympathies were well known, and he now became the centre of the revolutionary movement. But the same weaknesses which caused him to fail in 1831 again betrayed themselves. He was personally brave, but he lacked energy and decision. He inspired no enthusiasm. His movements were not ably planned or vigorously executed. Accordingly, almost from the first he played a losing game. The Piedmontese forces were by no means contemptible. Well led, they might have proved formidable opponents to the Austrians, whose domains in North Italy Charles Albert invaded. But under the King's feeble generalship the Sardinians gained only one or two trifling successes. In 1848 they won the victories of Pastrengo and Goito, but soon after they were disastrously defeated at Custozza. The Austrians were under the command of General Radetsky, and this aged soldier, who had fought against Napoleon, had lost none of his vigor and energy at the age of eighty-two. He drove Charles Albert out of Milan, which the Sardinians had occupied; and on August 9, 1848, Charles Albert signed an armistice. But he could not quietly endure the mortification of these reverses. In March, 1849, he set aside the armistice and again took the

field. But before he could invade the enemy's country, Radetsky led his forces into Sardinian territory, and on March 23 inflicted upon Charles Albert the severe defeat of Novara, which put an end to the war. Weary and heart-broken, the Sardinian King abdicated in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel II., and departed from the country he had failed to liberate. Only four months later he died in Portugal.

The failure of Sardinia meant the failure of the revolution all over Italy. The insurgents had hoped that their divided efforts would end in a united movement under a victorious king, but the states were not equal to fighting their battles against despotism single-handed. Ferdinand II. subdued his rebellious subjects both in Naples and in Sicily. The Dukes of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena were reinstated over their duchies by Austrian troops. At Rome Garibaldi and Mazzini made a desperate defence against great odds; but Louis Napoleon espoused the cause of the Pope and sent a considerable force of soldiers to regain for him his temporal sovereignty. Spain and Naples also helped to suppress the insurgents. Rome was obliged to capitulate, and Mazzini and Garibaldi fled. Venice, under Daniel Manin, still resisted after the insurrection was everywhere else suppressed. But on August 24, 1849, the city surrendered, and Manin went into exile. He never saw Italy again, as he died in Paris in 1857, before the day of Italian freedom had dawned. But his heroic exertions in the defence of Venice entitle him to a conspicuous place among the patriots of his country.

The Revolution of 1848 and 1849 had apparently accomplished nothing. Except in the kingdom of Sardinia despotism now reigned from the Alps to Sicily. Yet out of defeat was born the hope of ultimate victory. The House of Savoy was still the centre of the movement for freedom and unity; and its new King proved worthy to lead the patriot cause. Victor Emmanuel II. was a man of strong and noble character. He had the force, the balanced judgment, and the steadiness of purpose which his father, Charles Albert, had lacked. Moreover, he had the services of a statesman greater than himself, who was destined to accomplish by diplomacy what revolution had failed to secure. Count Camillo Benso di Cavour was born at Turin in 1810, of an ancient family, and showed at an early

age remarkable ability. But for many years he found no field for the exercise of his powers except in improving agriculture on his own estates; for he did not believe that Italy could be liberated by spasmodic revolutionary outbreaks, and he would not join in the uprisings of 1831 and 1848. But when Victor Emmanuel II. became King of Sardinia, Cavour was appointed to a place in the Sardinian Cabinet; and in 1852 he was made Prime Minister. With rare skill and foresight he formed a policy which ultimately freed Italy from foreign rule and made it a united nation. He was sure that her deliverance could be gained only through the intervention of a foreign power; and he waited for an opportunity to win for Italy the support of some of the great European nations. An opportunity seemed to offer when the Crimean War broke out in 1854. Through the efforts of Cavour an Italian army was sent to the Crimea with the forces of France and England, and in the bloody battle of Tchernaya[1] it won the gratitude of the allies by its conspicuous gallantry. As Italy had taken part in the war she was entitled to a voice in the deliberations that were held at its conclusion. Cavour himself attended the Congress of Paris, and before its sittings were over he forced the interests of Italy upon its notice. He declared that the peace of Europe could not be securely established until Italy was made a united nation; and he demanded that the despotic governments in Italy be made to grant liberal Constitutions. These demands were not enforced, and Cavour did not expect them to be. But they made an impression upon the Congress. Italy had attracted the attention and the sympathy of enlightened Europe. The country that had done such great things for civilization could not much longer remain under the rule of foreign despots.

But four years were to pass ere Cavour's hope of foreign intervention was realized. Meanwhile King Victor Emmanuel and his Prime Minister continued to give Sardinia the benefit of an enlightened rule. Indeed, the internal reforms accomplished by Cavour, with the King's assistance, were one of the

[1] The battle of Tchernaya was fought on August 16, 1855, on which date the allied armies were attacked by 50,000 Russians, who endeavored to break through the lines of the allies and relieve Sebastopol. They were driven back with great slaughter. About 1200 of the allies were killed and wounded; but of these 1200, 200 were Italians.

most creditable features of his statesmanship. During the years from 1852 to 1859, while he was waiting for foreign assistance, he brought Sardinia abreast of the advanced nations of Europe. He adopted a moderate free trade policy, established a more equitable system of taxation, and cultivated the friendship of the Church without admitting all its claims. He believed that the Church and the State should each have entire freedom within its own domain, and this view he maintained with unflinching courage, but with unfailing tact and skill. A free Church in a free State was his motto. Nor did he lose the interest that he had taken in agriculture before his public life began. In every possible way he strove to make the peasant population thrifty and prosperous.

But in 1859 the long-expected war note was sounded, and domestic interests were set aside by the all-absorbing struggle for freedom. Louis Napoleon undertook to liberate North Italy from Austria, and Sardinia eagerly seconded his efforts. To the imposing array of the French, Victor Emmanuel added his own comparatively meagre army. The French met the Austrians at Magenta on June 4, and the allied forces encountered them at Solferino on June 24. In both battles the French were successful, though rather through gallantry than through superior strategy. Napoleon himself did not understand the art of war, and his marshals were not first-rate generals. But, fortunately, the Austrian generals were still more inefficient; their forces were driven from the field, and were obliged to leave Lombardy in possession of the allied armies. Flushed with victory, the Sardinians were eager to push on and wrest Venetia also from Austria's grasp. But to their surprise and consternation, Louis Napoleon concluded a treaty of peace with the Emperor of Austria without consulting their wishes. The French Emperor had indeed declared the intention of freeing Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic, but he now abandoned his original purpose. He had reason to believe that Prussia would attack France by way of the Rhine if he attempted to humiliate Austria still further. Moreover, he was conscious of his own lack of military skill.[1] So he

[1] Napoleon's reasons for abandoning the campaign after the battle of Solferino are well stated by De la Gorce in his "Histoire du Second Empire," III. 103, 104.

allowed Austria to keep Venetia, and he exacted Savoy and Nice from Sardinia as a reward for his own services to Italy.

Deep was the indignation excited by Napoleon's conduct. The Italians felt that they had been betrayed, and even Cavour was carried away by his feelings. Rather than acquiesce in so disappointing a treaty he resigned his premiership. Fortunately Victor Emmanuel read the issues of the hour more clearly. He recognized the folly of losing everything through trying to gain too much. He therefore assented to the French Emperor's terms, added Lombardy to his own domains, and gave up Savoy and Nice. To Garibaldi the loss of the latter city was particularly bitter. Nice was his birthplace, and as it now became a French city, he felt as it were expatriated.

In spite of their resentment the Sardinians had gained much. They had acquired a considerable territory north of the Po. They had broken the power of Austria in North Italy. They had added the duchies of Parma, Tuscany, and Modena to their domains. For the peoples of these duchies, abandoned by their princes when the storm of war first broke, voluntarily attached themselves to the kingdom of Sardinia. Thus the cause of constitutionalism was growing; the House of Savoy was becoming stronger; the day of alien rule was drawing to its close.

In 1861 a further blow for independence and national unity was struck, and it was aimed at the cruelest despotism of Italy. King Ferdinand II. of Naples, who came to the throne in 1830, made his name famous all over Europe by the merciless severity of his rule. His subjects named him King Bomba, because he bombarded rebellious cities into submission. Political offenders he dealt with in the most summary manner, for he was determined to keep revolutionary agitation out of his territory. So he condemned men on mere suspicion as arbitrarily as an Oriental despot. Mr. Gladstone visited Naples in 1851, and found its prisons full of men whose offences were purely imaginary, and who were treated with extreme harshness. He estimated that there were twelve thousand political prisoners in Naples, and his published letter upon their condition created a commotion in Europe. King Bomba died in 1859, but under his weak and incapable son, Francis II., absolutism still flourished. Only force could overthrow it. The

Bourbon line that reigned over Naples and Sicily did not know the meaning of progress.

But force was soon brought to bear. The liberation of Lombardy filled the oppressed population of South Italy with hope. In April, 1860, the people of Palermo and Messina rose in rebellion. They were put down, but their movement attracted attention and brought them assistance. On May 6 Garibaldi sailed from Genoa with over a thousand volunteers to assail the Bourbon tyranny. Arriving at Sicily, he easily found fresh recruits, and his forces were soon swelled to four thousand. Palermo and Messina fell into his hands. Sicily was free; it remained to deliver Naples also. Crossing into Italy, he rapidly pushed his way to King Francis's capital. Everywhere he was hailed as a conqueror. The Neapolitan garrisons surrendered to him. Nothing barred his triumphal progress. Even the King fled before him, and in three weeks he was in Naples.

At the beginning of Garibaldi's expedition the position of the Sardinian Government was a trying one. Victor Emmanuel and Cavour (whose retirement from office had been brief) could not give it open encouragement, for it was directed against a friendly power. Yet they could not thwart or hinder it without offending the whole body of Italian patriots. Great was their relief, therefore, when the expedition proved completely successful. As soon as the overthrow of the Neapolitan Government seemed certain, Victor Emmanuel put himself at the head of the movement and assumed the direction of it. At the head of his army he hastened to the scene of action. Garibaldi loyally recognized his sovereign's authority, gave everything into his hands, and retired to his home on the island of Caprera. With a considerable army to support him, Victor Emmanuel at once assumed the aggressive. The forces of King Francis were ranged beyond the Volturno River. Victor Emmanuel drove them before him and forced King Francis to take refuge in the fortress of Gaeta. In that stronghold the fallen King held out bravely for three months. But provisions and ammunitions failed him, and fever assailed his garrison. On February 13, 1861, he capitulated. The kingdom of Naples and Sicily was at an end.

Thus all Italy, excepting Venetia and the States of the

Church, had passed under the rule of Victor Emmanuel. A National Parliament was therefore assembled at Turin in February, 1861, and by its consent Victor Emmanuel took the title "King of Italy." That the whole peninsula would in time be united into one kingdom now seemed certain. The logic of events pointed strongly to this consummation of the long struggle for freedom. But meanwhile there was crying need of efficient and progressive administration in the states already wrested from despotic rule. For as yet unity and nationality existed chiefly in name. The Italians needed to grow one in their ideas of law, of democratic government, of education, and of civilization in all its highest phases. Only a most enlightened conduct of affairs could effect so radical a change; and to just this end Cavour now devoted all his energies. His abilities were equal to the task; his strength was not. Even while he was planning extensive reforms in finance, education, local administration, and all departments of government, he was suddenly attacked by an illness that proved fatal. He died on June 6, 1861, in the fifty-first year of his age. All Italy mourned his death, and Victor Emmanuel felt that he had met with an irreparable loss. Cavour was one of the greatest statesmen of the century, and to him more than to any one person must belong the glory of accomplishing the unity of Italy. Yet the share which others took in this great achievement should not be forgotten. Had Victor Emmanuel been as weak and impractical as his father, Charles Albert, Cavour's task would have been wellnigh hopeless. There would have been no central figure to give direction to the movement for unity. Nor are the efforts of Mazzini and Garibaldi to be lightly valued. Mazzini forced all Europe to note the wrongs of his country; and Garibaldi's heroic enterprise hastened the inevitable downfall of the Neapolitan tyranny.

Cavour was succeeded by Baron Bettino Ricasoli, a statesman of Tuscany, who had done much to bring that duchy under Victor Emmanuel's rule, and who possessed great strength of mind and character. His administration was marked by energy and wise diplomacy, but was soon undermined by Rattazzi, a man of inferior ability and far less steadiness of purpose. Rattazzi was now elevated to power, but very soon there came a situation which demonstrated his lack of far-seeing statesman-

ship. Garibaldi could not keep quiet on his island of Caprera. In 1862 he organized an expedition against Rome with a view to adding the States of the Church to Victor Emmanuel's possessions. Rattazzi should have foreseen that the movement would give offence to Napoleon, and should have thwarted it in its very beginning. For Napoleon, to the end of his reign, maintained the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. But Rattazzi adopted the policy of non-interference. The expedition was allowed to start forth; but no sooner had it done so than the Sardinian Government was peremptorily required by Napoleon to render it powerless. Rattazzi was obliged to comply with this demand. The red shirts were captured at Aspromonte by their own countrymen. Garibaldi himself was severely wounded, and after his recovery retired once more to the island of Caprera. Naturally, he considered himself ill-used, and Italy agreed with him. Rattazzi was censured for his irresolute conduct and forced to resign.

In 1867 Garibaldi made another expedition against Rome, only to be balked again by French interference. But his effort, futile though it was in regard to the main end in view, had the happy effect of freeing Rome from foreign soldiery. Napoleon, partly in compliance with a request made by Queen Victoria, now withdrew the troops that he had kept at Rome to protect the Pope against popular uprisings. But he made it plain that any attempt to despoil the Pope of his possessions would cause the speedy reappearance of a French army.

Against the determined opposition of so powerful a monarch, further revolutionary outbreaks seemed hopeless. But already the day had begun to dawn when revolution would be no longer necessary. The victorious career of Prussia was destined to accomplish what Garibaldi failed to achieve by petty onslaught. Venetia had been won before he raised the banner of insurrection in 1867. For in the preceding year the combined efforts of Italy and Prussia had humbled Austria and compelled her to retire from Italian soil. True, Italy's part in the grand war drama was not well played. Through the wretched management of their general, Victor Emmanuel's forces were beaten at Custozza, even as Charles Albert's had been in 1848. Nor were the Italians any more successful upon the sea. But the crushing defeat of the Austrians at König-

grätz ended the war; and in dictating terms Prussia did not forget her gallant though vanquished ally. And very soon came the disaster at Sedan in 1870, and the collapse of the French Empire. No longer could the Pope rely on the protection of foreign bayonets, for the Government newly established at Paris refused to uphold him. So Victor Emmanuel took quiet and undisputed possession of the States of the Church. The long struggle for freedom and unity was over.

There were, it is true, some Italians still under Austrian rule. Those in Istria and the Tyrol looked longingly to the new kingdom of which they could not make a part; and from time to time the cry of *Italia irredenta* (Italy unredeemed) rose from fervent patriots. But this cry did not rouse the nation at large. Italy was well satisfied with what had been achieved. In the whole Italian peninsula only the little republic of San Marino remained independent of Victor Emmanuel's sway.

Having secured her freedom, Italy was anxious to maintain it. To the north of her stood France and Prussia, facing each other with anger and bitter hatred. What injury they might inflict upon her if they should engage in conflict was a serious problem. That one of these powers would cripple her in case of war, in order to prevent her from taking sides in the quarrel, seemed not impossible; and full protection against the contingency was considered necessary. So in 1882 Italy united with Germany and Austria to form the Triple Alliance. But that she was wise in doing so is by no means certain. The league of these three strong nations undoubtedly helps to preserve the peace of Europe. The combination is too powerful to be assailed. But the Alliance makes it necessary for Italy to maintain a considerable army, and the burden of taxation thus engendered occasions serious discontent.[1] Many believe that Italy should rely for protection upon her geographical position, and should allow the northward nations to fight their own battles.

King Victor Emmanuel died in 1878, deeply mourned by the whole nation. His share in the work of unity and liberation has not been forgotten. His statue is to be seen in more than one Italian city, and from time to time is adorned with wreaths

[1] It is not, however, the maintenance of the army that causes the heaviest financial burdens. See p. 92.

by a grateful people.[1] His son, who succeeded him as Humbert IV., has many of the traits that distinguished Victor Emmanuel himself. Brave in battle,[2] a sincere patriot, a lover of his people, and a liberal and progressive ruler, he is deeply beloved by his subjects. The censure with which he is sometimes visited is directed against his royal office rather than himself. For some of the rabid Socialists hate the very name of king.[3]

Under the rule of King Humbert, Italy has continued to make progress in many directions. She has had the guidance of liberal statesmen, such as Depretis and Crispi, the latter of whom has proved himself a very strong and able leader. He was a member of the first Italian Parliament in 1861, and ever since has been a foremost figure in the Constitutional party. In 1887 he succeeded Depretis as head of the Cabinet, and remained in power till 1891, when his Ministry was defeated. He was succeeded by the Marquis di Rudini, who represented the Conservatives; and Crispi became the head of the opposition. But the new Ministry did not long command the confidence of the country, and Crispi was again called to power in 1894, only to be overthrown in 1896 by the defeat of the Italian army in Abyssinia. Accordingly, the Marquis di Rudini was again made the head of the Ministry, and by granting concessions to the Republicans and Socialists, who gained ground in the elections of 1897, he maintained himself in power until May, 1898. But now arose a serious political crisis, which the Ministry proved unable to meet. For owing to the high prices of breadstuffs, there was much suffering among the peasantry all over Italy, and serious riots occurred

[1] An equestrian statue of Victor Emmanuel was unveiled at Florence on September 20, 1890. On October 6, 1891, three thousand citizens of Naples caused a monstrous floral wreath to be placed at the foot of the statue of Victor Emmanuel in that city.

[2] He took part in the battle of Custozza in 1866 and showed conspicuous gallantry.

[3] On December 18, 1896, when it was proposed in the Chamber of Deputies to allow the Crown Prince $200,000 yearly because of his recent marriage, Signor Costa, a well-known Socialist, denounced the monarchy as a useless and dangerous institution. This view, though not generally shared, seems to be spreading, and King Humbert is undoubtedly losing ground. He lacks self-assertion, and does nothing to help the nation out of its difficulties and embarrassments.

in many of the towns and cities.[1] They were largely fomented by the Radicals and Socialists, and in some provinces they assumed such a formidable character that the military were called out, and the most insubordinate districts were placed in a state of siege. To quiet the agitation the import duty on corn was temporarily removed; but the Ministry could not cope with the difficulties that faced it. The Marquis di Rudini had endeavored to coöperate with the Republicans, but he did not fairly represent advanced Liberal opinions, and was unable to command the confidence of the disaffected elements in the kingdom. Moreover, the Cabinet was so divided that the Marquis found it necessary to place the resignations of its several members in the hands of the King. Requested by the King to form another Ministry, he succeeded in doing so; but he soon found that he could not command a majority in the Chamber of Deputies, and gave way to General Pelloux. After holding office for a year, the new Prime Minister was forced to resign on account of a complication in the far East, the Government having demanded of China the cession of the port of San-Mun, and other rights which the Chinese were unwilling to grant. But General Pelloux was asked by the king to form a new Ministry, and though the task was a difficult one, he finally succeeded in composing a Cabinet which commanded the confidence of the country; for some of the ablest and most respected political leaders of the kingdom were among its members.

Under these different Liberal leaders, Italy, though still struggling under heavy burdens, has reached a condition which is in striking contrast to the misery and lethargy that marked the days of despotism. Education has been made compulsory for children from six to nine years old; new and improved methods of agriculture have been encouraged; friendly relations with the Vatican have usually been maintained; and a vigorous though questionable colonial policy has been adopted. Considerable tracts have been acquired in Africa, chiefly along the border of the Red Sea. The Italian possessions in this region stretch along the shore of the Red Sea for 670 miles, and the entire colonial district goes under the name of

[1] To understand the situation at this time, consult the *Nation*, 66 : 378, 402, 458.

Erythræa. In 1889 Abyssinia was made an Italian protectorate by King Menelek II.; but when the Italian troops advanced from Erythræa in 1895, Menelek did not prove true to his agreement. Without warning he appeared with his army to resist the Italians, and he inflicted a severe defeat upon them at Ambalagi on December 8. Reënforcements were immediately sent out by the Italian Government; but the officer in command, General Baratieri, did not act with sufficient caution against his fierce and determined antagonists. On February 29 a portion of his army was almost annihilated by the Abyssinians, the loss in killed and wounded amounting to nine thousand men. All Italy was excited by the disaster. A desire to avenge the defeat took deep possession of the national mind; and Menelek's own attitude did not tend to allay this feeling. For in proposing terms of peace he made large and uncompromising demands which Italy could not accept without humiliation. But as time passed, a calmer and probably a wiser view of the situation prevailed with the Italian Government. In October, 1896, it agreed upon a treaty with Menelek by which the Italians held as prisoners by the Abyssinians were released, and the question of a frontier for the Italian Colony was left open for further negotiation. More than this, a sentiment began to show itself in the Ministry in favor of abandoning Erythræa altogether, and expending all the energies of the Government upon strengthening the nation at home.

And certainly the question of administrative reform is for Italy an all-absorbing one. The country is poor,[1] and it is poor because, in spite of the progress that has been made, it is still badly governed. The taxation made necessary by maintaining a considerable standing army is supposed to be the chief financial burden which the nation carries. But this is a mistake. A vicious civil service is the principal cause of Italy's poverty. The Government maintains a far greater number of officials than it needs, for a clamorous horde of politicians insists upon being supported by the public purse. And among these officials there is no sense of responsibility. They look upon the Government as existing for their benefit. They make the burden of taxation very heavy for the poor and very light for the rich. And in the construction of public

[1] See *North American Review*, 167: 126; and *Littell's Living Age*, 218: 89.

works similar dishonest practices are common. If a railway is to be built by the Government the contractor is not held to a definite agreement. He undertakes to construct it for a certain sum which he considers sufficient, but if the sum is exhausted before the work is completed, the Government grants him as much more money as he finds necessary. Nor are the railroads which are owned by the State managed upon business principles. It is estimated that as many as forty per cent of the passengers pay no fares.[1]

Inefficient administration, lack of capital, and lack of enterprise keep Italy poor. Many of the peasants are in comfortable circumstances, for poverty is by no means universal among the lower classes of the country. But most are satisfied with moderate savings. The desire to acquire wealth is not commonly found; hence capital is very slowly accumulated, and the natural resources of the country are not as productive as they should be. Business energy and a spirit of venture are greatly needed.

Freedom and self-government, therefore, have not yet emancipated Italy from mediæval conceptions of government and life. The stamp of despotism has not been wholly removed. Yet wonderful progress has been made since the tyrannies that so long crippled the energies of the people were shaken off. Education and free institutions are slowly but surely bringing Italy into touch with the modern world. Even the vices of civilization are finding a home on Italian soil. The Socialists and the Anarchists are trying to convert the peasantry to their views,[2] and the riots of 1898 are sufficient to show that their labors are not wholly without fruit. But they do not succeed in causing widespread discontent. The working classes of Italy are gaining in comfort, in education, and in self-respect. That their condition will still greatly improve is doubted by those who believe that the Latin races are declining. But the optimist has as much use as the pessimist in politics. A people that has won freedom and unity by persistent and heroic effort may yet win national greatness and prosperity.

[1] The above facts are taken from a letter to the *Nation*, published in the issue for June 25, 1896.

[2] For Socialism in Italy see *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, 8 : 108.

Italy has an area of 110,623 square miles and a population of about 31,000,000. It is a constitutional monarchy, the Government being vested in a King and a National Parliament. The powers of the King are almost entirely executive. Theoretically he is vested with certain rights in the way of making treaties, declaring war, issuing decrees, appointing officers, and dissolving the Chamber of Deputies. But he exercises these rights, not with entire freedom and merely as his own judgment dictates, but only as his ministers advise and as the Chamber of Deputies makes known its will.[1] The Upper House of legislation is a Senate of about 400 members, most of whom are appointed by the King for life from the bishops, high officials, deputies who have served three terms or six years, members of the Royal Academy of Science of seven years' standing, wealthy tax-payers, and those who have rendered distinguished service to the State. The remaining senators are the royal princes who are twenty-one years of age. The Lower legislative House is the Chamber of Deputies, the members of which are 508 in number and are chosen by a limited suffrage. To vote one must pass certain educational tests which are severe enough to deprive large numbers of the franchise. But as elementary education is now compulsory, the suffrage, even under the present law, will in time become extensive, though hardly universal. Money bills must proceed from the Lower House; otherwise the two Houses have equal legislative powers. The deputies are chosen for five years, but the Chamber is usually dissolved by the King before its full term has expired. It chooses its own president. Both senators and deputies travel free, but receive no other emolument.

The business of Government is transacted by a Cabinet of nine ministers, who have the right to attend the debates of both the Upper and the Lower House, but not to vote.

The judicial system is not thoroughly well constructed. There are five supreme courts, termed Courts of Cassation; but they are independent of each other and have equal powers. Thus there is nothing to prevent inconsistent and contradictory decisions. In the lower courts the judges are not sufficiently free from political control.

[1] "Governments and Parties of Continental Europe," II. 52.

There is no recognized State religion in Italy, though its population is almost entirely Catholic. All forms of worship and belief are tolerated, Italy being more progressive in this respect than Spain.

Owing to bad and inefficient administration the finances of the country are in a very unsatisfactory condition. The debt is above $2,500,000,000, and is constantly increasing, for there are frequent deficits.[1] The yearly expenditure is considerably above $300,000,000, and this is a large sum for so poor a country to raise, although the government derives a considerable revenue from posts, railways, telegraphs, and other branches of public service. Yet Italy's financial prospects are by no means gloomy. Commerce is growing, imports and exports continually increase. Silk, wine, olive oil, fruit, and other productions bring large returns; and as the resources of the country are developed, the export trade will show a corresponding growth. When the government is administered on purely business principles, as in time it certainly will be, the task of making income and expenditure meet will be no longer difficult.

[1] This unsound financial condition was greatly improved by Baron Sonnino while he was Minister of the Treasury under Crispi, 1893 to 1896. For an account of his policy consult the "Annual Register," for 1895, p. 253; or the *Nation*, 69:30. How grave the financial situation was when Baron Sonnino took charge of the Treasury is shown in the *Contemporary Review*, 65:496.

CHAPTER VI

SPAIN

No country shows more strikingly than Spain that national power and greatness are dependent upon national progress. The Spaniards are a brave people. They wrested their lost territory from the Moors with a vigorous hand, and, under Ferdinand and Isabella, the conquest was made complete. These two powerful sovereigns united Aragon and Castile, and brought all Spain under their sway; but even at this time was made the fatal mistake which sapped Spain of her strength and gradually robbed her of her dominions. For these monarchs inaugurated a narrow and repressive religious policy; they persecuted the Moors and Jews, gave free rein to the Inquisition, and frowned upon free and liberal thought. The same course was pursued by subsequent monarchs. Scientific research was utterly discouraged; the minds of the people were enslaved by ignorance and superstition. Hence, even the power and splendor attained under Charles V. in the sixteenth century was but a deceitful index of the country's strength. Under his son, Philip II., Spain's greatness began to decline. This bigoted monarch was defeated in his contest with the Netherlands; and, though he succeeded in repressing heresy, so-called, in Spain itself, he did so at the cost of national vigor and independent thinking. Spain was becoming self-satisfied, enervated, indolent. Her vast possessions in America brought her immense revenues; but these very revenues disinclined her people to the discipline of arduous daily toil. Still further was their industrial energy diminished by the expulsion of the Moors in 1609, in the reign of the feeble-minded Philip III. And now the decline of the kingdom was rapid and almost unbroken for over a hundred years. It was shorn of extensive possessions, distracted by civil wars, reduced in popula-

tion, and oppressed by poverty. Its armies, which had once been the most formidable in Europe, no longer seemed able to win a victory. A better state of things prevailed under the French Prince who reigned as Philip IV. from 1701 to 1746. Although this ruler had much difficulty in making good his title to the throne, he used his power, after he had once secured it, to encourage art and commerce. And the same spirit of enterprise and progress characterized his grandson, Charles III. Under him religious bigotry was held in check, and agriculture, commerce, and industry revived. But he did not carry the people with him in his efforts to introduce reform. They had lived so long in an atmosphere of intellectual darkness that they preferred ease to progress. So, after the death of Philip in 1788, the kingdom lost what it had gained; and the dawn of the nineteenth century found it effete, unprogressive, and ridden by superstition. Its monarch, Charles IV., was bigoted and dull; his councillors were illiberal; his policy was feeble.

Spain, therefore, could hardly be expected to lead in the great democratic movement of the century. It were much if she joined it at all after so many centuries of ill-directed national effort. But join the movement she did, and her sympathy with democratic principles was not long in showing itself. The blunders and the incapacity of Charles IV. occasioned a revolution in 1808, and Ferdinand VII., the Prince of the Asturias, was temporarily placed upon the throne. But both Ferdinand and Charles were forced to abdicate by Napoleon, who had for some time had his eye on Spain, and who desired to use the country for his own ambitious purposes. He elevated his brother Joseph to the throne, convened an assembly of Americans and Spaniards, and caused a new Constitution to be prepared. This was the first written Constitution that Spain had ever received, and Napoleon undoubtedly hoped that it would win the support of the Spanish Liberals and weaken the opposition to his brother's reign. But in these hopes he was utterly disappointed. The more progressive and enlightened Spaniards were indeed desirous of obtaining self-government; for even in this bigoted country the principles of the French Revolution seemed to be finding their way. But the people had no mind to receive their

rights as the gift of a foreigner. In the Constitution which Napoleon had granted them they took no interest whatever; and in Joseph Bonaparte they saw, not a constitutional sovereign, but the mere tool of a usurping tyrant. Consequently, instead of conciliating the Spanish people by his meaningless concessions, Napoleon roused their bitter hatred by his unwarrantable interference with their affairs, and brought on that long and sanguinary struggle in which the French armies were finally routed by Wellington and his zealous Spanish allies. Joseph Bonaparte fled from Madrid on August 11, 1812. By November, 1813, Spanish soil was entirely free from French invasion, and shortly after this, Napoleon, in the treaty of Valencay, yielded all claim to Spanish territory.

So Ferdinand VII. was now free to take possession of the kingdom of which he had been so summarily deprived; but though he had originally been summoned to the throne because of the narrow and unpatriotic conduct of Charles IV., he did not show himself a liberal and enlightened ruler. He was restored to the throne as a constitutional sovereign; for in 1812, not long before the expulsion of the French, the Spanish Cortes had taken a decided step toward popular government by framing a new Constitution. But on reëntering the kingdom in 1814, Ferdinand issued a proclamation annulling the Constitution and reasserting the ancient rights of the Spanish monarch. And in taking this step he did not awaken serious opposition or widespread protest. The Cortes freely resisted him, but the country as a whole approved of his action. For the truth was, Spain was by no means ready for popular government. The Liberal movement had a good deal of strength in the cities, especially those upon the sea-coast; but the rural population were under the influence of the priests, and were averse to seeing the power of the King and of the privileged classes curtailed. Moreover, the Constitution itself was far from being a perfect document. It did indeed contain many excellent provisions. It took away from the King the right of absolute veto; it gave the Cortes the power to make war and peace, organize the army, and appoint high officers and judges; and it recommended trial by jury, though it did not actually provide for it. No wonder that these admirable features created more than one movement in

its favor during subsequent years. But it did violence to time-honored institutions; it did not respect the rights of landowners; and it authorized measures to curtail the revenues of the Church and to suppress the convents. Hence the nobles, the priests, and the peasantry, who would countenance no assault upon the priesthood, all united in opposing it.

Under these circumstances Ferdinand was able to set aside the Constitution with impunity, especially as he declaimed fiercely against despotism and promised to assemble the representatives of the people in a Cortes as soon as possible. These promises meant absolutely nothing, for Ferdinand was an arch dissembler and never kept his word unless compelled; but they deceived the people, who greeted him with enthusiasm, and made his journey to Madrid a triumphal march. But, once established in power, he soon made his true character apparent. Placing himself under the narrowest influences, he drove many of the most liberal men of the kingdom into exile, reëstablished the Inquisition, and restored the same unenlightened and deadening rule that had brought Spain from greatness to degradation. Under this feeble régime the two Floridas were sold in 1819 to the United States and Mexico, and the South American Colonies, which had revolted while Spain was at war with France, succeeded in gaining their independence. But the ineffective measures taken to suppress the Colonies angered the Spanish armies. Early in 1820 an insurrection broke out among the soldiers; the Constitution of 1812 was proclaimed; and Ferdinand, alarmed at the formidable character of the outbreak, granted all demands and swore to support the Constitution. Accordingly, the Cortes, or legislative body, was convened on July 9 of this same year.

But Spain was still far from being ready for representative government. As was the case in 1814, the clergy were opposed to reforms, and the people sympathized with the clergy rather than with the Liberal party. So the Liberals had almost everything against them. The King, though he still remained true to his oath, thoroughly disliked them; the vast wealth and influence of the Church was opposed to them; the people gave them little assistance. Unable to maintain their hold upon the King without exciting civil war, they still refused to

abandon their principles. In 1821 the two opposing parties came into armed conflict; and at first, in spite of all the forces arrayed against them, the Liberals were successful through the support they received from the soldiery. But when a French army of one hundred thousand men was sent against them in 1823 at the dictate of the Holy Alliance, they were obliged to give way. The cause of absolutism won a complete triumph. King Ferdinand was now entirely dominated by the narrowest clerical influence. He allowed the Liberals to be persecuted and put to death, and the Inquisition to be restored. He did not even resent the presence of the French troops who remained in the country till 1827 to make the power of the clerical party secure.

But not even by this subserviency did Ferdinand fully satisfy the clergy. They wished a king who would rule solely for the good of the Church, and they therefore conspired to give the throne to Don Carlos, the younger brother of Ferdinand, and the very personification of absolutism and religious bigotry. This attempt resulted in another civil war, which, though it did not prove serious, added to the miseries and the already heavy financial burdens of the country. But in 1830 the Carlist movement became more formidable. For in that year Ferdinand VII. issued a pragmatic sanction setting aside the Salic Law, and thus making it possible for his infant daughter, who was born October 10, 1830, to succeed to the throne. Whether or not the King had a right to issue such a decree is a disputed question.[1] Don Carlos and his followers protested that the decree was entirely illegal; and when Ferdinand died in 1833, and the Queen, Maria Christina, claimed the right to govern in behalf of her infant daughter, Isabella, they raised the standard of insurrection. As they stood for intolerance and despotism, the Queen Regent, much against her own inclination, was obliged to adopt the Liberal cause. All the more was this step necessary because the Carlists were ably led and at first seemed likely to be successful. Their general, Zumalacarregui, showed himself a prodigy of energy and valor.

[1] The question of the pragmatic sanction is ably considered by Caleb Cushing in a despatch sent to the United States Government on December 2, 1875, while the second Carlist insurrection was in progress. ("Foreign Relations for 1875–76," pp. 442–445.) A brief abridgment of the paper may be found in Currie's "Constitutional Government in Spain," p. 152.

He seemed ubiquitous, so rapid were his movements; and his presence on the battle-field often brought victory to the Carlist banners. Unfortunately for the cause of the insurgents, he was killed in 1835.[1] The Queen Regent was therefore compelled to conciliate the Liberals at any cost. Without their support her cause would have been hopeless. So she granted a new Constitution in 1834, abolished the Inquisition, and expelled the Jesuits. But even these concessions were not sufficient. Although the peasants were still opposed to reform, Liberal ideas were gaining ground in the centres of education and culture. The cities clamored for modern institutions and Liberal government. To resist their demands was dangerous. The Liberal army was possessed by the spirit of progress, and was ready to revolt if only meagre and halfway measures of reform were adopted. Accordingly, in 1837, Maria Christina reluctantly granted a new and still more liberal Constitution. By this means the Queen Regent united the Liberals around her and ultimately secured the throne for her daughter Isabella. Her general, Espartero, conducted the campaign against the Carlists with ability and vigor. Taking advantage of dissensions which showed themselves in the Carlist forces, he broke their power and brought the insurrection to an end. Don Carlos himself saw that his cause was lost, and abandoned the conflict. By the summer of 1840 the supremacy of Maria Christina was fully established.

But the Queen Regent belonged to the royal family of Naples, and in that stronghold of tyranny she had acquired an insuperable aversion to popular government. Forced to adopt Liberal principles for self-preservation, she abandoned them the moment she thought her power secure. Without actually annulling the new Constitution, she continually violated its provisions and aroused the open opposition of the Liberals. In the very year in which her victory over Don Carlos was made complete, she was obliged to relinquish the throne and seek refuge in France. As Isabella was not yet old enough to reign, Espartero was made Regent by the Cortes on May 8, 1841. But, though possessed of undoubted abilities and actuated by Liberal views, Espartero had from the first no chance of maintaining himself in

[1] For the far-reaching power and influence of Zumalacarregui, consult "The Revolutions of Spain," by W. W. Walton, Vol. II. Ch. XV.

power. The Spaniards are, perhaps, the proudest and haughtiest race in the world. Fettered by tradition and exulting in the achievements of their more illustrious rulers, they have an unbounded respect for royalty and all its pomp and prestige. Only to royalty and to the Church will they render homage. No matter how intrinsically good and efficient a rule may be, if it is not invested with princely splendor it will fail to command obedience. Republican ideas have made some headway in Spain, but they have not made sufficient headway to dispel the glamour of the mitre and the crown. It was in vain, therefore, that Espartero governed the country wisely, encouraged trade and commerce, and furthered internal improvements. He raised up enemies; Maria Christina organized conspiracies against him; and on July 26, 1843, he resigned his office. To him, as to many other victims of revolutionary agitation, the hospitable shores of England seemed inviting. In that country he lived quietly for many years till recalled by his sovereign to meet a threatening crisis.

Left for a time without a head, Spain was once more torn by dissension and intrigue. Settled peace seemed impossible for this unhappy country. And this was only the natural result of an unprogressive past. The people had never had the slightest training in the principles of self-government. They could blindly obey the authority of King and Church, but they did not know or understand the importance of bowing to the will of the majority and of acknowledging established rule. Hence anarchy and discord arose whenever the smallest opportunity offered. As in other European countries where despotism had reigned for centuries, the growth of democratic ideas occasioned successive throes of conflict. The sanguinary scenes of the French Revolution were not indeed repeated on Spanish soil; but Spain paid for its four centuries of darkness and superstition by a long period of alarms and civil discord. No sooner had Espartero retired from the country than the party of progress and the followers of Maria Christina engaged in bloody conflicts. To quiet these disturbances the Cortes, on November 8, 1843, proclaimed Isabella, now in her fourteenth year, to be of age. Three years later, on October 10, 1846, the young Queen was married to Francis of Assisi, and her sister Luisa was at the same time united to the Duke of Montpensier — these being

the famous Spanish Marriages which occasioned so much unfavorable comment against Louis Philippe among the courts of Europe.[1] But however reasonable such criticism may have been, the marriage of Isabella to the infant Francis brought little benefit either to France or to Spain. The latter country did not grow quiet under its new ruler. Maria Christina was unwisely recalled from France soon after Isabella's reign began, and her presence always fomented discord. Nor did Isabella herself prove more competent to manage the affairs of the restless and distracted nation. For though she did not allow her mother to rule her, she became estranged from her husband and made her court a seat of profligacy and intrigue. For more than ten years after her accession to the throne the country submitted to her corrupt and inefficient sway, and saw Cabinet after Cabinet go down from lack of royal support and a consistent policy. But in 1854 the discontent which had been increasing under this condition of affairs found expression in a formidable insurrection. Its seat was in the military, who made General O'Donnell their leader, and demanded that the Constitution of 1837 be restored and that Maria Christina be banished from the country. To this demand Isabella was obliged to submit, and there is reason to believe that to the provision which called for her mother's removal her approval was not unwillingly given. If there was to be intrigue, she herself wished to be the author and the centre of it. Therefore, seeing that the restoration of order called for a vigorous hand, she recalled Espartero from England, and put him at the head of affairs. With prompt decision he sent Maria Christina back into France, and secured for the country a short period of internal peace and tranquillity. But settled order was impossible under a ruler whose favorites were bigoted and vicious, and who used her sovereign power chiefly to minister to her own personal pleasures. As before the recall of Espartero, Cabinets found themselves without the royal support and went down in rapid succession. Every year brought the Queen into greater disrepute and increased the disaffection of her subjects. Nor did Isabella strengthen herself by banishing the ablest generals and political leaders of the kingdom.[2] From their places

[1] Consult p. 37.

[2] Even the Duke of Montpensier's exalted rank did not save him from being exiled.

of exile these men intrigued against her, and finally brought about her overthrow. In 1868 she was obliged to yield to the storm that had long been gathering. All her enemies united against her and excited an insurrection. General Prim and General Serrano returned from exile to lead the movement. It was indeed characteristic of Spanish politics that these men should be thus united in an enterprise which was after all largely personal in character. For Republican ideas have not made sufficient progress in Spain to cause parties to be grouped by their political principles. True, we see Moderates, Progressists, Republicans, and Radicals playing their several parts all through the century. But these names by no means stand for fixed and clearly defined political parties. The man who is one day a Republican will the next day be a Conservative if personal interest so orders. For almost always in the political changes that take place in Spain the question of personal interest is dominant; and even men of high aims and genuine patriotism become political adventurers from force of circumstances. The men who now joined to overthrow Isabella had not always worked together or belonged to the same party. Nor was it devotion to any common idea or principle that now united them. They all believed that the Queen's reign stood in the way of order and progress; so they made common cause in bringing her shameful rule to an end, without knowing what manner of government they should establish in place of it.

And as matters developed this proved a very troublesome problem. Isabella abdicated on September 30, 1868, and, like her mother, withdrew to France, where she is still residing. As a prominent leader in the recent insurrection and a man of wide experience in war and politics, Serrano was made head of the provisional government that was now established. Like Espartero, Serrano proved himself a progressive administrator; unlike him, he did not devote his energies merely to furthering material prosperity. He showed his sympathy with liberal principles of government by bringing about the expulsion of the Jesuits and the confiscation of their property, granting liberty to the press, and causing a new Constitution to be submitted to the Cortes. The Constitution was adopted by that body and proclaimed on June 6, 1869, but it led ultimately to a new insurrection, for, though it recognized monarchy as the legiti-

mate form of government, it also recognized that the royal power should be exercised through ministers responsible to the nation. This principle excited the opposition of the Carlists, and their dissatisfaction was greatly increased when Serrano was made Regent shortly after the new Constitution was proclaimed. As the son of Don Carlos had renounced the rights of his line, the grandson of that defeated aspirant for royalty appeared as a pretender to the Spanish throne under the title of Carlos VII. His claim at once found recognition among the Carlists and the more bigoted of the clergy; but the movement in his favor did not at first excite apprehension among the friends of the Constitution. Much more alarming seemed the insurrection in Cuba which broke out in 1868 as a result of the indignities suffered by its inhabitants at the hands of the Spanish Government. Not without much difficulty and serious loss of life was the uprising quelled.

But though Spain was still a monarchy by the new Constitution, it had trouble in finding a king. Alfonso, son of Isabella, who was born November 28, 1857, was too young to be crowned, and his mother's evil courses created a prejudice against him. As the Constitutionalists would not for a moment consider the claims of the grandson of Don Carlos, it became necessary to secure a foreign prince. The crown was first offered to Prince Leopold of Sigmaringen, and the Franco-Prussian War was brought on in consequence, though the offer was declined. Better success attended the negotiations with Amadeus, the second son of King Victor Emmanuel. This prince consented to receive the crown and was elected King by the Cortes on November 16, 1870. Very soon setting out for Spain, he arrived there on December 30, only to be encountered by an inauspicious omen of a brief and troubled reign. For on the very day that he set foot in the country General Prim, who had done much to secure his election, was assassinated; and the gloom created by this event seemed to follow the King throughout his stay in an alien land. Not possessing extraordinary force or vigor, he could not create a strong personal following. The Spaniards, resenting the rule of a foreigner, were cool and indifferent toward him, and the kingdom grew more and more restless under his feeble sway. Finally realizing that he could not win the allegiance

of the nation, he abdicated on February 11, 1873, and left the country.

Equally futile was the attempt to establish a republic. One was indeed organized in the following September, with Emilio Castelar, a brilliant orator and expounder of republican principles, as its President. But Castelar proved to be only a theorist. He had no practical sagacity, no grasp of detail. Under his loose and easy-going administration matters went from bad to worse. Disorder reigned; the Carlist insurgents made great headway; and early in 1874 the Republic fell to pieces from sheer impotency. So serious did the Carlist insurrection now become, that a decisive step toward the establishment of order and constitutional government seemed necessary. The military, under the lead of General Martinez Campos, proved equal to the situation. On December 29, 1874, they proclaimed Isabella's son, Alfonso, King, and the youth of seventeen was soon at the head of the army. Defeated at first by the Carlists, he eventually succeeded in suppressing the insurrection and in winning the confidence of the nation. The Carlists abandoned the struggle in 1876. Thus the cause of constitutional monarchy was for the time being made secure.

And still more secure did it seem to become as the young King gained in maturity and experience. For he had qualities that endeared him to his subjects, and he became a great favorite with the Spanish people. He had a pleasing address, a liberal and cultivated mind, and an affectionate nature. With the army he was extremely popular, for he was a splendid rider, and he devoted much time to the study of military tactics. The chivalrous Spaniards, moreover, were won by the story of his love, which had both a romantic and a tragic side. Deeply attached from boyhood to his young cousin, Maria de las Mercedes, the second daughter of the Duke of Montpensier, he resolutely refused to marry any of the princesses whom his ministers, for reasons of State policy, commended to his notice. It was in vain that they objected to an alliance with the Montpensier family on the ground that the duke himself was unpopular and his daughter would be coldly welcomed by the Spanish people. Alfonso remained firm, and bore down all opposition by the loyalty of his affection. He married Mercedes

in January, 1878, and so captivated were the Spanish by the charms and graces of the young Queen that the forebodings of the King's ministers proved to have been unfounded. Mercedes soon became as popular as the King himself. But only a short season of happiness was given to the royal lovers. The Queen died five months after her marriage, and the King mourned for her with a passionate grief which profoundly affected the nation. But he was not allowed to be wholly constant to his first and only love. The kingdom needed an heir, and in the summer of 1879 Alfonso was married to the Archduchess Maria Christina, niece of Francis Joseph, the Emperor of Austria. From this union came two daughters, Mercedes and Maria Teresa, and a son, Alfonso XIII., who was born on May 17, 1886, about five months after his father's death.

Thus the kingdom had no male heir when Alfonso passed away, but in spite of this fact no uprising against the Government occurred. It seemed, therefore, that the cause of representative government and constitutional monarchy was gaining ground in Spain. Alfonso himself always maintained the liberal Constitution that was proclaimed on June 30, 1876; and for a number of years after his death its validity was not questioned. His widow, Maria Christina, was made Queen Regent by the Cortes, and, foreigner though she was, she won the respect of the Spanish people by her dignity, her devotion to the interests of the kingdom, and her steadfast adherence to the spirit of the Constitution. She gave a loyal support to the Cabinet, as Alfonso had done before her; and the Conservatives and the Liberals succeeded each other without causing any upheavals or even grave crises in the kingdom. Each of these two great parties was headed by a remarkable man. Canovas del Castillo, the Conservative leader, was a pure-minded patriot, who always put the interests of the nation before those of self or party, and who, though averse to violent changes, was progressive rather than reactionary in temper and conduct. It was he who promoted the first measure toward the abolition of the slave traffic in Cuba; and to religious toleration he always gave an unwavering support. At critical periods he had powerfully strengthened the cause of constitutional monarchy, and the present Constitution of Spain is largely the product of his labors. A consistent friend

of order, he stoutly opposed the anarchists throughout the forty years of his public career, and it was this devotion to the cause of stable government that he paid for with his life. He was assassinated by an anarchist on August 8, 1897, at the very time when he was holding the helm of State and was struggling against perilous seas. The whole country mourned his death. Sagasta, the chief of the rival faction, was cast in a different mould. Adroitness has been his dominant trait through a long political career. Always astute, far-seeing, self-contained, and vigilant, he has guided his party with great ability in shifting and troublous times. But his shrewdness has been that of a statesman rather than that of a low and unscrupulous politician; and his services to his country have been many and great. Under these leaders Spain seemed to make some internal progress both in Alfonso's reign and in the earlier years of Maria Christina's regency. Important steps were taken for the spread of elementary education, and the industrial arts were so far developed that Spain was able to make a creditable showing at the Paris Exposition of 1889. It may be added that universal suffrage was adopted in 1889, but whether this was a benefit in a country which still shows a high percentage of illiteracy is very doubtful.

But in spite of internal quiet continued through many years, and in spite of measures that seemed to betoken a progressive spirit, Spain remained essentially unchanged. Her peasantry was unreasoning, ignorant, and superstitious, her finances were in disorder, her officials were corrupt and inefficient, and the whole nation seemed sinking into lethargy and decay. All this was made apparent by a series of events which took place in the closing years of the century, and revealed to the world Spain's wretched and impoverished condition. For in 1895 there occurred an insurrection in Cuba which led to vast and unexpected results. That island had long been restive under Spanish rule, and in 1868 it began a war for independence which lasted for ten years. In 1878 the insurgents were induced to lay down their arms by the "Compromise of Zanyon," which was granted by the Spanish general, Martinez Campos, and which conceded to Cuba the same rights that were enjoyed by Porto Rico, besides other important privileges. But this Compromise brought the Cubans no

relief. Its conditions were not fulfilled by the Spanish Government, and Cuba continued to suffer from the rapacity and harshness of the Spanish officials. So heavily were the Cubans taxed and so outrageously were they governed that their hatred toward the Spaniards grew ever more intense and bitter till it found expression in the insurrection of 1895. This insurrection, like the earlier one of 1868, the Spanish found it impossible to subdue by force. It was headed by Gomez and other leaders who had figured in the former movement, and these men, retiring to the mountains with their forces, waged a cunning and audacious warfare against their more numerous foes. Campos was again sent to Cuba, but so futile were his efforts against the insurgents that he was replaced by General Weyler, whose measures for suppressing the rebellion were both vigorous and cruel. He divided the island into three parts by trochas, or military lines consisting of small garrisoned forts connected by earthworks and barbed wire fences. In this way he hoped to keep the insurgents in the different parts of the island from communicating with each other and from working with a common purpose. But the Cubans passed and repassed the trochas with impunity, and Weyler seemed no nearer to suppressing the rebellion than his predecessor had been. When the Spaniards and the insurgents engaged in armed conflict, as frequently happened, the latter very often came off victorious; and as the months and years wore away the strength of Spain was severely taxed in this seemingly interminable conflict. Altogether some two hundred thousand men were sent to Cuba to suppress the insurrection, and the cost of maintaining them impoverished the nation. As for the soldiers themselves, they were ill fed, ill paid, wasted by disease, and broken in spirit. Many of them were mere boys, who, against their own wishes and those of their kindred, were sent to face fever, starvation, and the bullets of the Cubans, and to return home sick and emaciated, if they were fortunate enough to return at all.

The condition of affairs growing thus more desperate from day to day, General Weyler saw that the rebellion could only be put down by the most summary and uncompromising measures. He therefore determined to bring the rebels to terms by depriving them of their means of support. He was well

aware that the Cubans in the interior who did not bear arms themselves supplied the insurgents with food and other necessaries. This class of non-combatants, accordingly, he forced into the fortified towns held by the Spaniards, in order that their farms and plantations might be deserted and might contribute nothing to the needs of the Cuban forces. But the ones who suffered from these cruel measures were the non-combatants themselves, who were termed "reconcentrados" after they were thus concentrated within the Spanish lines. No longer able to earn their own livelihood, and receiving no food or maintenance from the Spanish authorities, they soon began to die from starvation in great numbers. As many as four hundred thousand were brought into the towns by the order of General Weyler, which was issued on October 21, 1896. Before many months had passed half of them were dead or perishing, and there seemed to be no hope that the rest could long survive.

But their sufferings did not go unnoticed. The American people had watched the insurrection in Cuba with deep interest from its first beginning in 1895, and as Spain showed herself powerless to quell the uprising, there grew up in the United States a strong feeling in favor of intervention. Some believed that the Cubans should be recognized as belligerents, others that war should be declared against Spain, and that Cuba should be annexed to the United States. In Congress the feeling against Spain was strong and bitter, and finally brought on a war between Spain and the United States. The leading events of the war and the humiliating terms which Spain was ultimately obliged to submit to are recorded elsewhere (p. 465). Great indignation was manifested in Spain over the disastrous defeats inflicted upon the Spanish navy and over the cession of the Philippines and the Spanish West Indies to the United States. Sagasta's government felt the weight of this displeasure, and was barely able to maintain itself in power; nor did the Queen Regent, Maria Christina, escape popular censure. For a time a Carlist uprising seemed imminent, and, had it occurred, it might well have proved formidable. But Don Carlos had not the courage to strike; discontent was gradually quieted, and the country accepted the lessons of defeat. With dignity and with serious purpose the nation

attempted to restore its ruined finances, rebuild its navy, and reënter the path of progress.

Although Spain showed utter feebleness in the war with the United States, it also showed splendid heroism. Its people were ready to sacrifice and die for their country, and their ardent patriotism excited universal respect. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the process of decay which has been going on so long can be stayed, and that a people possessing such admirable qualities may yet have a prosperous career. The Spaniards are frugal, industrious, and temperate, as well as brave, and there seems to be no good reason why they should continue to lose in strength and vigor. Although it is widely said that the Latin nations are in a decline, the history of the century hardly bears out this assertion. Weighed down by ignorance, superstition, bigotry, and oppressive rule, they have awakened from their mediæval slumbers and joined in the common movement for constitutional government. Obtaining it under exceedingly adverse conditions, they have not, indeed, shown a clear appreciation of its nature and its value. Yet they have shared the progress of the nineteenth century. They have encouraged education, cultivated the industrial and the æsthetic arts, made notable contributions to literature, and kept alive a strong national spirit. If they have not attained to political stability, they have again and again emancipated themselves from bad government, and shown that at least they aspired to settled order and to an enlightened popular sovereignty.

It may well be, then, that the detractors of these nations apply to them impossible standards. Their genius is not for politics. They will never vie with the Anglo-Saxon in founding democratic institutions, ruling subject peoples with equity, putting law upon a scientific basis, and solving the tremendous socialistic problems that are now taxing the mental resources of the race. But their comparative failure to win triumphs in these walks of national life does not prove that they are destined to decline. Æsthetic, emotional, and volatile, they will achieve their best results through impulse, keen discernment, and flashes of insight rather than through reason and philosophic grasp. Yet even in the domain of politics these qualities may be of service and may contribute toward the making of a brilliant national life.

Spain contains 197,670 square miles. Though its area is nearly as great as that of France, its population numbers less than twenty million. By the Constitution of 1876, Spain was made a constitutional monarchy, the executive power being vested in the King, and the legislative power in the Cortes and the King conjointly. Two Houses make up the Cortes, the Senate and the Congress. There are three classes of senators: those who sit by right of birth or official position; 100 life senators nominated by the Crown (these two classes not to exceed 180); and 180 senators elected by the Corporations of the State. The Congress is composed of 431 deputies, elected by all male Spaniards who are twenty-five years of age, enjoy full civil rights, and have been citizens of a municipality for two years. The Sovereign can convoke, suspend, or dissolve the Senate and the Congress; but a new Cortes must sit within three months after a dissolution has been declared. The State religion is the Roman Catholic, and no other form of worship is allowed in public; but this law is not rigidly enforced. Primary education is compulsory, but the compulsion has never been insisted upon, and a large proportion of the people are illiterate.

CHAPTER VII

PORTUGAL

To one who looks carefully at the map of the Iberian peninsula two facts become easily apparent; one is that the entire peninsula ought to make a single country, and the other is that such dividing lines as it has do not run from north to south as does the boundary between Spain and Portugal. For the great rivers of the country have a southeasterly or a southwesterly flow, and its mountain chains usually follow the trend of the Pyrenees. It is evident, then, that Portugal owes its existence, not to geography, but to history. The geographical features of the peninsula do not warrant its division into the two separate kingdoms which lie side by side without any natural barrier between them. But history easily explains what geography thus fails to account for. Vanquished by the Moors, the Christian inhabitants of Spain withdrew to the mountains in the north, which abound in almost impenetrable fastnesses, and which have often defied invasion both in ancient and modern times. In this mountainous region they maintained a measure of independence, and from it they began to issue in the eleventh century and to push their Moslem enemies toward the south. But, kept apart by the rugged character of the country they inhabited and by the jealousies of their princes, the Christians did not form themselves into one formidable and aggressive power. Their warfare was a desultory one, and their conquests were extended southward along several parallel lines. In the east was the kingdom of Aragon; in the west and centre the kingdoms of Leon, Castile, and Galicia, which in the latter part of the eleventh century were all under the one powerful and vigorous sovereign, Alfonso VI. This ruler, finding that the Moors were waxing dangerous, besought the aid of Christian knights from other countries,

and among those who responded to the call was Count Henry of Burgundy. To this knight he gave his daughter in marriage and the newly conquered district of Portocallo, comprising the northern part of modern Portugal, to hold in fief. But Count Henry was anxious to be King; and though sudden death thwarted this ambition, his son, Alfonso Henriques, attained the coveted distinction and showed himself to be one of the ablest and most energetic princes of his time. He left Portugal a kingdom, and as the Moors were driven southward, the new kingdom, as well as Aragon and Castile, grew in size and strength. And though Aragon and Castile were united under Ferdinand and Isabella, Portugal retained its separate existence. It had its own language, its own literature, its own heroes and explorers, and its own colonial possessions. The Portuguese reached India by the way of the Cape of Good Hope in 1497, and in 1500 they discovered Brazil.

Thus the early years of the sixteenth century saw Portugal entering upon a splendid national career. Its King, by virtue of the India trade, was one of the richest sovereigns of Europe; its people, proud of their achievements on land and sea, were full of energy and conscious of their power. In maritime knowledge they led the world; in commerce they hardly had a rival; and in spreading their conquests and discoveries they ever acquired fresh renown.

But the same century that witnessed their greatest triumphs witnessed also their decline. The King of Portugal had made himself absolute, and in so doing had sapped the nobility of their strength. The people had no leaders. Emigration to newly found lands diminished the population of the country. Commercial prosperity drew crowds to the cities and emptied the rural districts. And even while these causes were bringing about national deterioration, religious bigotry fastened like a blight upon the kingdom. King John III., who reigned from 1521 to 1557, introduced the Inquisition, stifled free thought, and robbed literary expression of fervor, power, and greatness. In the closing decades of the century Portugal was so weak and spiritless that, in 1580, Philip II. of Spain was able to establish a manifestly unjust claim to the throne. Thus the kingdoms, which, quite as much as England and Scotland, seemed fitted to have one destiny, were at last united; and

had the union been effected earlier, it might have proved enduring. But, coming as it did after Portugal had had such a splendid national experience, it lasted little more than half a century. Shorn of power and prestige though the Portuguese were, they could not forget the epic of Camoëns, the discoveries of Bartholomew Diaz and Vasco de Gama, and the exploits of Alfonso de Albuquerque, the "Portuguese Mars." So in 1640, supported by France and Holland, they asserted their independence; and with England's help they succeeded in maintaining themselves in the long and bloody war with Spain that followed this rebellion. The crown was now given to the House of Bragança, with which it still remains.

But Portugal could not recover what she had lost in the "sixty years' captivity," and in the period of national decline that had preceded it. Her colonial possessions had been wrested from her by England, France, and Holland; and though she recovered Brazil from the Dutch and profited by its wealth of gold and diamonds, she was from this time on an insignificant power. The two kingdoms south of the Pyrenees had had a similar if not a common destiny. Each had had its period of greatness and expansion, followed by a long season of weakness, lethargy, and decay. Portugal as well as Spain began the nineteenth century ignorant, superstitious, unprogressive, and unfitted to lead the political life of Europe.

Yet the Portuguese people were soon to show that they could follow, if they could not lead, the movement for constitutional freedom. Narrow and bigoted though they were, they had caught the spirit of liberty which had been roused by the French Revolution. In their country, as elsewhere in Europe, societies of Freemasons devoted themselves to propagating democratic principles; and it was largely through the fear of these societies that the royal house fled at the approach of the French in 1807. For Portugal, like Spain and Italy, was coveted by Napoleon, who aimed to subjugate the kingdom, and award portions of it to his adherents. Accordingly, he sent General Junot with an army to drive out the House of Bragança and complete the work of conquest. But Junot's task proved unexpectedly easy. He marched into the country with marvellous celerity, received a cordial welcome from the Freemasons, and frightened the royal family out of all

thought of resistance by his rapid advance. The sovereign at this time was Maria I. She had succeeded to the throne in 1777; but in 1788 she became insane, and her son Dom John assumed control of affairs, and was formally declared Regent in 1799. Unwilling to appeal to arms in this unwelcome crisis, Dom John appointed a regency, left the English to defend the kingdom against the French, and sailed for Brazil with Queen Maria and all the members of his family.

That the English did not betray the trust committed to them is one of the well-known facts of history. They were anxious to break Napoleon's power, and they used Portugal as their base of operations. Wellington proved more than a match for Junot and for the other French generals whom Napoleon sent into the Spanish peninsula. Portugal was soon freed from French invasion, but only to find that her liberators had become her taskmasters. Although Portuguese affairs were nominally under the control of a regency, the English general, Lord Beresford, ruled the country very much like a dictator. No doubt this arbitrary assumption of power was in the interest of order and good government; yet none the less it was offensive to the Portuguese, who soon became clamorous for the return of the royal family from Brazil. But for some time Dom John was little inclined to comply with the wishes of his people. His mother, Queen Maria, died in 1816, and after her death he took the title of John VI., King of Portugal and Brazil. But it was in the latter country that he preferred to make his home. Brazil, with its unmatched harbor of Rio de Janeiro, its vast area and its inexhaustible resources, seemed to him a better seat of rule than his native land; so, instead of returning at once to Portugal in response to the popular wish, he invited the leading nobles and the richest merchants of Portugal to settle in Brazil. But in time the demands of his Portuguese subjects became too insistent to be disregarded. The outbreak in Spain in 1820 aroused the spirit of insurrection in the neighboring kingdom, and caused so strong a feeling against Lord Beresford that he sailed for Brazil to confer with King John in person. Hardly had he left the country when risings occurred in Oporto and Lisbon that resulted in the overthrow of the regency, and the convocation of a Cortes to frame a Constitution.

And this same democratic spirit made its way across the ocean. King John's Brazilian subjects swore allegiance to the Portuguese Constitution, even before that instrument was perfected; and, summoned at once by his native country and urged by the land of his adoption, the King returned to Portugal in 1821, leaving his son Dom Pedro behind him to rule in his stead. Before he was allowed to disembark and enter Lisbon, he was obliged to sign the Constitution, which the Portuguese had now completed, and thoroughly imbued with the spirit of democracy. And this Constitution he swore to support in the following year, 1822.

Thus, after an absence of fourteen years, the House of Bragança resumed its reign as the sworn friend of popular rule. While most of the kingdoms of Europe bowed to the rule of the Holy Alliance, Portugal embarked upon the path of constitutional government.

But the path proved anything but a smooth one. For five years the King endeavored to carry out the provisions of the Constitution, harassed all the time by his wife Carlotta and his son Dom Miguel, both of whom were unscrupulous and bigoted, and were thoroughly in league with the reactionists. And while they were giving him endless trouble at home his son Dom Pedro disowned all allegiance to his father and was crowned Emperor of Brazil in December, 1822. Still, though at one time made prisoner by Dom Miguel, King John was able to maintain himself in power. But after his death, which occurred in 1826, the kingdom became the scene of civil discord and bloody conflict. For straightway the friends of the Constitution and the reactionists became pitted against each other. The latter were led by the ex-Queen Carlotta, who desired to place her son Dom Miguel, always obedient to her wishes, upon the throne. The Constitutional party was headed by the late King's daughter, Isabella Maria. She had been named Regent by her father, and she considered her brother, Dom Pedro, the rightful sovereign of Portugal. But Dom Pedro could not be King of Portugal and ruler of Brazil at the same time; for when the independence of Brazil was acknowledged by King John, it was secretly agreed that the two thrones should not be occupied by the same person. Accordingly, being unwilling to abdicate, Dom Pedro attempted to reconcile the two con-

tending parties in Portugal by a foolish compromise. Though Dom Miguel had already shown himself weak and treacherous, Dom Pedro trusted him and played into his hands. Abandoning all claim to the Portuguese throne himself, he proclaimed his seven-year-old daughter, Maria da Gloria, Queen of Portugal, and at the same time betrothed her to his brother Dom Miguel. He also granted Portugal a liberal Constitution, which Dom Miguel swore to maintain. So Dom Miguel came back from Vienna, whither he had been sent by his father on account of his intrigues and rebellions, and governed Portugal as Regent in behalf of his niece Donna Maria. But neither he nor his mother had any thought of remaining true to the liberal Constitution granted by Dom Pedro. Instigated and aided by Carlotta, Dom Miguel dissolved the Cortes, convened an assembly of his own partisans, and on July 4, 1828, assumed the title of King. This title the Constitutional party at once disputed. Consequently, as a result of Dom Pedro's credulity, the kingdom was plunged into civil war.

The Constitutionalists were ready to fight for their principles and for their legitimate sovereign, but for a time they were without a proper head. Donna Maria had sailed from Brazil in July, 1828; but her guardian, having learned at Gibraltar of the treachery of Dom Miguel, carried her to London, whence she returned to Brazil in the following year. So Dom Pedro himself found urgent reasons for repairing to the torn and distracted little kingdom. Abandoned by the Liberal party in Brazil, in 1830 he abdicated in favor of his son, then but six years old, and sailed for Europe with his wife and his daughter Donna Maria. He was cordially received at Paris and London, where he first resorted; for Portugal was too thoroughly under Dom Miguel's control to allow of his landing there. On the 9th of February, 1832, he sailed from Belle Isle for Terceira at the head of an expedition, and at Terceira he proclaimed himself Regent of Portugal. This island of the Azores had become the stronghold and the basis of operations of the Constitutional party, Dom Miguel having vainly attempted to capture it in 1829. Here the Constitutionalists were assembled in considerable numbers, and from here they sailed with a formidable force to regain possession of Portugal. Landing at Oporto on June 7, 1832, they soon succeeded in defeating the

forces of the reactionists. They were ably assisted by Sir Charles Napier, a distinguished English admiral; and among the Portuguese themselves were soldiers of courage and ability. In the conflicts between Dom Miguel and the forces of the Constitutional party the Duke of Saldanha rendered gallant and efficient service. In some instances the fighting was spirited and bloody; for the reactionists made a desperate effort to keep control of the kingdom. But in the end they found themselves completely overmatched and outgeneralled. On May 26, 1834, Dom Miguel surrendered, and formally renounced all claim to the Portuguese throne. Five days later he left the country, never to return.

Thus Portugal was saved from the rule of bigotry and intolerance, but her political path continued for a time to be troubled and uncertain. For the nation had no fixed political ideals, no standards of sound and stable government, no genuine and persistent spirit of progress. Bigoted Royalists, moderate Constitutionalists, and radical Republicans contended for supremacy in the State for purely personal reasons, while those who possessed unselfish devotion to political principles were few in number and often without influence. Portugal did not indeed suffer from the long reign of a corrupt and shameless monarch, as Spain did under Isabella II.; but, on the other hand, none of her rulers and statesmen knew how to lead her into the ways of settled peace.

It was not under the most promising auspices, then, that Dom Pedro assumed control of Portuguese affairs. Yet all that he could do to further the Liberal cause and to establish order he did efficiently and promptly. In 1833 he restored the Constitution he had granted in 1826. After the downfall of Dom Miguel he influenced the Cortes to suppress the friars who fomented rebellion in the country villages, and to declare the Queen, his daughter Maria, of age. She was now only fifteen years old, but he felt his end drawing near, and on September 24, 1834, only nine days after the Queen's majority was declared, he succumbed to the arduous cares and labors which for several years had been his lot.

His death deprived the Queen of her stanchest supporter and friend. The Duke of Palmella and other able ministers upheld and guided her to the best of their ability, but they

were not able to save the kingdom from factional warfare. One rebellion succeeded another all through her reign, which lasted for nineteen years, and peace was only restored when England, France, and Spain came to the assistance of the Queen in 1847. As Dom Pedro's liberal charter had been set aside during this turbulent period, the Constitution was revised by the Cortes in 1852, and approved in its amended form by Queen Maria, who caused her son, the heir to the kingdom, to take oath that he would maintain it. In the following year Maria II. died, and this same son succeeded to the throne. Maria was twice married. Her first husband, Prince August of Leuchtenberg, died in 1836, only three months after his marriage; and in the following year she was wedded to Prince Ferdinand of Coburg, by whom she had several children. It was the oldest of them, already mentioned, that now came to the throne as Pedro V.; but as he was only sixteen years of age, he was for two years under the regency of his father. Attaining his majority in 1857, he was formally inaugurated; but four years later he died after a comparatively quiet and uneventful reign.

He was succeeded by his brother, who ruled as Luis I., and under whom the kingdom made considerable progress in the direction of settled order and parliamentary government. True, insurrections were not unknown and ministerial changes were frequent; but when the King died in 1889 he left the country quiet and fairly prosperous. The same conditions have prevailed under his son, Carlos I., who succeeded him. During the closing decade of the century Portugal has continued to make progress slowly, and to avoid serious internal dissension. Constitutionalism seems to have become firmly rooted in Portuguese soil, and the monarchy stands apparently secure. For although the radical Republicans and the Socialists are active, the conservative party is strong throughout the country, and gives the existing form of government its powerful support.

But Portugal needs to make much greater progress before her people can fully understand and appreciate parliamentary government. In education she is very backward. Her citizens have not yet learned the full responsibilities of the suffrage. The country is burdened also by a heavy debt, which hinders material prosperity and stands in the way of all measures of reform that call for a large expenditure. The debt is

about $800,000,000, while the population is only a little above 5,000,000. The area of the country is 36,038 square miles, or about one fifth that of Spain.

The Constitution of Portugal recognizes four powers in the State, the executive, the legislative, the judicial, and the moderating authority. The executive power belongs to a responsible Cabinet, acting under the Sovereign; the moderating authority belongs to the Sovereign, who can veto laws unless they have been passed twice by both Houses. Of the two legislative Chambers the Upper, or House of Peers, consists of 90 members appointed for life by the King, in addition to the princes of the blood and the 12 bishops of the continental dioceses; the Lower Chamber consists of 146 members elected for four years by universal suffrage. The State religion is the Roman Catholic, but all others are tolerated.

CHAPTER VIII

BELGIUM

EXASPERATED by the cruel and tyrannical rule of Spain, the Netherlands revolted in 1566 and waged a fierce warfare for independence. That their warfare was partially successful is well known, for Motley's brilliant narrative has made this struggle one of the familiar events of history. But the success that attended the uprising of an outraged people was very far from complete. The seven northern provinces of the Netherlands proved unconquerable, and Spain practically recognized their independence by the armistice concluded in 1609. But the southern provinces were less fortunate. Overmastered by that brilliant strategist, Alexander of Parma, they finally submitted to Spain and abandoned their aspirations for religious and political independence.

Thus the Netherlands became divided into two countries; yet the division was a natural one. It was not merely the genius of Alexander of Parma that brought about the submission of the southern provinces.[1] The name of Belgium, which was given to this southern region of the Netherlands, suggests the character of its people, for it dates back to the ancient Belgæ, who were one of the Gallic tribes. In process of time the Belgæ became mixed with the Germans, and there came to be two imperfectly blended races and two different languages in the Belgic country. Some of its inhabitants were Flemish and spoke the Flemish language; while others were Walloons, and used a speech which so far resembled the French language that it was finally recognized as a dialect of it. And these Walloons were Celtic in character and manners as in speech.

[1] The intrinsic difficulties in the way of a union between the Belgic provinces and the Protestant Netherlands are well set forth in Frederic Harrison's "William the Silent," pp. 236, 237.

Excitable and passionate, swayed by feeling rather than by reason, they had the temper of the Frenchman rather than the German, and for the life and civilization of France they felt an active sympathy. A permanent union with the Dutch provinces of the Netherlands would have been distasteful to them; hence their submission to Spain and their consequent separation from the Dutch Republic gave them an opportunity to develop their own salient race characteristics. As their movement for religious independence was a failure, they retained the Catholic religion, as did also the Flemings; who, though they differed from the Walloons in temper and language, were yet content to share their political destiny.

Obliged to submit to Spain, Belgium remained subject to that country until 1713. True, Philip assigned the province to his daughter Isabel and her husband Albert in 1598; but this period of independence came to an end in 1621. But as the power of Spain declined, portions of Belgium were given up to France during the seventeenth century; and the whole country was ceded to Austria by the Peace of Utrecht in 1713. During the Austrian War of Succession Belgium was conquered by the French; but they restored it to Austria in 1748, and for nearly half a century longer it remained a part of Austria's composite dominions. In 1794, however, the French once more obtained possession of it, and in their hands it remained until France was deprived of its territorial conquests by the Treaty of Paris in 1814. The Congress of Vienna now assumed the right to dispose of Belgium, and as the little country had not had an independent existence for centuries, it was not made into a kingdom, but was incorporated with Holland. Thus the union that the rebellion against Philip had failed to bring about was finally accomplished. The Netherlands now made one kingdom.

But the union proved to be of short duration. To the Flemings in the north of Belgium it gave a fair degree of satisfaction; to the Walloons in the south it was thoroughly distasteful. Celtic in race, Celtic in temper, and Celtic in speech, they objected to forming a small minority in a Dutch country. Their discontent only increased as the years went by, and it finally took the form of open rebellion in 1830. In this movement for independence, the Flemings were ready to

join, and accordingly the people of Belgium established a provisional government and renounced their allegiance to Holland. As their union with that country had been a source of continual irritation, the powers did not frown upon these national aspirations, but recognized the independence of Belgium before the end of 1830. But Holland was by no means disposed to lose so goodly a part of its domains. In defiance of the action of the powers it took steps to crush the insurgent people, and to reëstablish its authority throughout the Belgian territory. And in this attempt it would possibly have succeeded if it had had to deal with Belgium alone. But when it was found that Holland intended to conquer the Belgians by force, the powers promptly interfered. France sent an army of fifty thousand men to help the struggling people, and when the Dutch proved refractory and refused to surrender Antwerp, that city was besieged by the French army. Though its Dutch garrison offered a brave resistance, it was compelled to surrender on December 23, 1832; and with this capitulation hostilities were brought to an end. A preliminary convention with Holland was arranged on May 21, 1833; and a treaty between the two countries was signed on April 19, 1839.

Even before its independence was secured Belgium looked about for a king, its political leaders being too conservative to wish for a Republican form of government. The choice fell upon the Duc de Nemours, son of Louis Philippe; but as Louis Philippe would not consent to the arrangement, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg was finally selected, and on July 19, 1831, he entered Brussels. Two days later he was crowned as Leopold I. The nature of the kingdom over which he was established was clearly defined by the Constitution which was adopted in 1831. By this instrument Belgium was declared to be "a constitutional, representative, and hereditary monarchy"; and in accordance with this provision a parliament, consisting of a Senate and Chamber of Representatives, was elected. But though representative government was thus established, the representation was of the most inadequate character, for hardly a tenth of the adult males possessed the right to vote. Accordingly, the right was made somewhat more general by a law passed in 1849; but it was still restricted to a small portion of the population, and, owing to the conservative political

temper of the country, no further progress was made in this direction for a considerable period. Long after some other European countries had granted liberal Constitutions and widely extended the franchise, Belgium still clung to its narrow and oligarchical system. The death of King Leopold in 1865, and the accession of his son to the throne as Leopold II., caused no pronounced change in the legislative tendencies of the nation.

But in 1879 there was brought about a reform that led to far-reaching results. For secular education was secured in that year; but, far from proving an unmixed blessing, it served to rouse the Clerical party into greater activity, and to tighten their hold upon the nation. By establishing parochial schools and by combating Liberalism in every possible way, the Clericals increased their prestige and influence; and in 1884 they succeeded in getting the Government under their control. This control they preserved by the most adroit political methods, shaping new legislation to further their own ends, and even forcing Liberal measures to contribute to their party supremacy. In the early nineties it became apparent to all that the franchise must be extended, for in the industrial districts there were heard mutterings of a gathering storm. Densely populated as Belgium is, a spirit of discontent among the working-classes easily spreads and causes general excitement; and the laborers were now growing turbulent and riotous, for they were convinced that they were wronged by their employers, and that, in order to wage war with capital on equal terms, they needed the right of suffrage. Combining to secure that right, they presented a formidable front; and as their demand was endorsed by the Liberal party and was in accord with the political tendencies of the century, it was granted by the nation. In 1893 the Constitution was amended so as to give the suffrage to all citizens over twenty-five years of age who had lived as long as a year in the same commune. Universal suffrage was thus adopted; but even with its adoption steps were taken by the Clericals to counteract its democratic and levelling tendencies. For an extra vote was given to married men of thirty-five who pay a tax of five francs and who have children to support, and also to substantial property owners; while two extra votes were given to citizens of twenty-five who have completed a course at some higher institution of learning.

As the educated and well-to-do classes in Belgium are largely under the influence of the Catholic Church, these modifications of the right of suffrage were in the interest of the Ultra-Montane party; and the Clericals themselves, accordingly, were not surprised at the results of the first elections held under these new political conditions. A sweeping Liberal and Socialist victory had indeed been expected by those who had not noted the manœuvres of the Ultra-Montanes. But the tide turned in the opposite direction. Of the 152 seats in the Chamber of Representatives, the Liberals obtained only 15 and the Socialists 33; while the Clericals secured 104. Maintaining this ascendency in subsequent elections, they kept control of the Government; and so encouraged were they by their success that they devised or furthered new measures to strengthen their power. Fortune indeed seemed sometimes to befriend them, as they were able to profit by appropriate and needed legislation. In 1898 it was proposed to place Flemish on a legal equality with French, which had been the official language of the State authorities and the court since 1794; and although this was only an act of justice, considering that the Flemings outnumbered the Walloons in the kingdom, it was still sure to help the cause of the Clericals.[1] For it is among the Flemings that Catholicism has its strongest hold in Belgium. The measure was, therefore, fiercely combated by the Walloons, but they were unable to defeat it, for it seemed to have right upon its side.

Not so much, however, could be said in favor of a scheme which the Clericals brought forward in 1899. This was a bill to amend parliamentary representation; and so ingeniously was it framed that it seemed at first to spring from the demand for electoral reform which was now widespread and continually growing. For so far as its mere wording went, the bill seemed innocent and even just. It simply provided for a proportional or minority representation in the cities that returned more than three deputies apiece. But these were the very cities where the Clericals were in a minority, and by the new law these constituencies would be taken partially out of Liberal control. According to the laws that were in force, in case there was not a complete result from a first ballot, a sec-

[1] The facts regarding the language question are given on page 128.

ond ballot was allowed; and when the second ballot was taken the Liberals and Socialists were accustomed to unite on that candidate, no matter to which of the two parties he belonged, who had received the greatest number of votes on the first ballot. Consequently, as they could always outvote the Clericals when they thus combined, they were sure to elect their candidate on the second ballot. But the new law took away the second ballot, and gave the election to the candidate who had the most votes on the first count.

It was a well-planned scheme, but its purport was immediately understood, and it roused the most determined opposition of the Liberals and the Socialists. Indeed, the situation became so menacing that a revolution seemed not improbable; and a revolution might have resulted in the overthrow of the reigning dynasty, and in a general European embroilment.[1] But the Clericals thought it wise to quiet the storm they had raised. Accordingly, the Government announced on June 30, 1899, that it wished for time to consider the vexing question that was before the nation, and it therefore requested the Chamber of Representatives to adjourn until July 4. To this proposition the enemies of the new measure gave their consent, and the country was immediately quieted, though riots still occurred in some of the provinces: On July 4, M. Van den Peereboom, President of the Council and Minister of War, declared that the Government was willing to refer the electoral problem to a committee made up from all parties, and that it was desirous of finding a satisfactory solution. As this proposal was regarded by the Socialists as a practical withdrawal of the offensive bill, they gave it their approval, and thus the franchise question ceased for a time to disturb the politics of the country. But it was sure to come up again and to occasion trouble, for it had never been settled in a fair and equitable manner.[2]

Yet even a satisfactory suffrage law could hardly heal the dissensions that agitate the kingdom and render the throne insecure. Those racial differences which have so long created

[1] The importance of the crisis is set forth in *Public Opinion*, 27: 107.

[2] The mere statistics of the election held in 1898 suffice to show the grave defects of the system then existing; for, although the Liberals, Radicals, and Socialists polled 936,237 votes, and the Clericals 993,857; yet the Clericals elected 112 representatives out of a total of 152.

divergence of action and opinion, and which can never be eradicated, are the true cause of these violent political antagonisms. It was the Walloons who brought on the insurrection against Holland in 1830. It was among the Walloons that the mining strikes occurred, and riotous outbreaks were countenanced in the closing decade of the century. And it was the Walloons again who nearly caused a revolution in 1899. Living mostly in the southern provinces of Belgium and comprising the industrial portion of the population, they have caught the spirit of discontent that is now rife among the laboring classes and are impregnated with socialistic opinions; while the Flemings in the north are engaged in agriculture, and are, as has been already shown, stanch supporters of the Clerical party.[1] So these two races stand pitted against each other, and how far their warfare will go, and how it will end, it is impossible to say. The difference in language serves to intensify the differences in race and feeling, as was made apparent in 1898, when Flemish was recognised as an official language (p. 126). Retaining their Dutch instincts and characteristics, the Flemings cling to their Flemish or Dutch speech; while the language of the Walloons is really a French dialect. In 1890 there were about 2,500,000 who spoke French only, and about 2,750,000 who spoke Flemish only; while about 700,000 spoke both of these languages.

But, in spite of the lack of harmony between these two races, Belgium is in many respects a progressive and enlightened country. Primary education is liberally provided for by the Government, and illiteracy is slowly disappearing. There also exist higher institutions of learning, including four universities, which are well supported. Although the population is chiefly Catholic, there is no State religion, and entire religious liberty is guaranteed by the Constitution. The system of justice is well organized and complete; trial by jury was established in 1831; and the law courts are conducted with great dignity and efficiency.[2] The debt of the kingdom is large, amounting to about $500,000,000; but this sum was for the most part raised and expended to promote the construction of public works, especially railways.

The members of the Chamber of Deputies, 152 in number,

[1] *Macmillan's Magazine*, 72: 1. [2] *The Green Bag*, 8: 158.

are elected directly for four years, half of them retiring every two years. Of the senators part are chosen indirectly by provincial councils, part directly by the people. The number of the latter class must equal half the number of the members of the Chamber of Representatives. The two parliamentary Chambers are convened, prorogued, and dissolved by the King. They meet annually in November and must sit for not less than forty days.

Belgium is one of the most densely populated countries in the world. It has an area of 11,373 square miles, and over 6,500,000 inhabitants.

CHAPTER IX

TWO MINOR STATES

San Marino

According to tradition, a stone mason named Marinus, desiring to escape from the persecutions which the Christians suffered under Diocletian early in the third century, fled from Rimini to Mount Titano of the Apennines, built himself a hut upon its summit, and lived such a pious and holy life that after his death he was accounted a saint. About the spot which he chose for a home a village grew up, which looked upon this holy man as its founder, and thence took the name of San Marino. In the course of time a castle was built to give the village protection; and this castle, as the people of San Marino proudly assert, has never been in an enemy's hands.

If this tradition were authentic, the Republic of San Marino could claim a history extending over some fifteen hundred years; but it cannot be proved by documentary evidence that it existed prior to 885. But whatsoever may have been the date of its origin, it was destined to pass through troublous times and to see its independence more than once assailed. Only twelve miles to the north was the city of Rimini, where the powerful family of Malatesta had its seat; while to the south was the rival, and as the sequel showed, still stronger, family of Montefeltro. San Marino could not keep clear of the feud that existed between these two houses; but, allying itself by good fortune with that of Montefeltro, it ultimately reaped the rewards of victory. In the thirteenth century the head of the Montefeltro house became Duke Federigo of Urbino; and in 1463 Duke Federigo of Urbino and his allies, the King of Naples and the Pope, gave San Marino additional castles and the villages of Faetano, Sarravalle, and Montegiardino in

return for efficient services rendered them in their wars with the house of Malatesta.

But this increase of territory did not prove an unmixed blessing. Though secured against the encroachments of immediate neighbors, San Marino roused the cupidity of the papacy itself. More than once did a Pope plan to get possession of it; and in 1739 Cardinal Alberoni actually asserted papal jurisdiction over the little mountain state. This claim, however, was promptly repudiated by Clement XII. in the following year. Hence, in spite of the dangers which menaced it, the Republic held its own; and even Napoleon Bonaparte, when he was making and unmaking governments all over Italy, respected its independence. It was the memory of this fact, very possibly, that made Napoleon III. protect it from Pius IX. in 1854.

While the Italians were struggling for unity and freedom, San Marino was sometimes placed in a trying position, as political refugees resorted to it for safety. In 1849 the Austrians threatened to invade it unless it gave up Garibaldi, who had taken refuge within its walls. But the people of San Marino, who were powerless to stand out against the Austrian Empire and were yet unwilling to betray a fellow lover of liberty, succeeded in obtaining such favorable terms for Garibaldi and the few devoted followers who were with him that they acceded to the Austrian demand. For the Austrians promised that they would give Garibaldi a passport to America, and would allow his companions to return to their homes unmolested, if they would first deliver up their arms. But this fair promise was distrusted by the shrewd Italian patriot, who had had some experience with Austrian good faith, and it would have been well for his followers if they had been equally suspicious. Garibaldi escaped by night to a seaport, and thence made his way across the water; but the other patriots, who gave themselves up to the Austrian authorities at Rimini, were promptly imprisoned. Italian unity was finally achieved, but still San Marino maintained its separate existence, and it did not become a part of the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel. The Italians, themselves ardent supporters of republican principles, were unwilling to disturb the little state that had clung to its independence for a thousand years. Accordingly, while acknowledging it as a distinct commonwealth, they took it under

their protection, and the kingdom of Italy concluded a treaty of friendship with it in 1872.

The Constitution of the Republic was much changed in 1847, but still retains the stamp of mediævalism. Indeed, as Andorra shows us a patriarchal system of government rather than a democracy, so San Marino is rather an oligarchy than a republic. For though the suffrage belongs to all men who are above twenty-five years of age, nearly all power is vested in a Chamber of sixty members who are elected for life, and who are entrusted with the duty of nominating candidates for the office of President. The Presidents, or Reggenti, are two in number and hold office for only six months. So, twice every year, on the first of April and the first of October, the members of the Chamber nominate six of their number, and every voter in the state is supplied with a ballot on which are written two of the six names selected. And now comes a peculiar ceremony, in which politics and religion and superstition are strangely blended. For the polling place is the cathedral in the town of San Marino, in which an urn is placed behind the high altar; and into this urn each voter drops his ballot while the Te Deum is solemnly chanted. When all have cast their votes, a child draws a ballot from the urn at random and a priest proclaims that the two whose names are inscribed upon this ballot are the Presidents of San Marino.[1] Besides the Chamber of sixty, there is also an executive council of twelve, two thirds of whom go out every year. Like Andorra, San Marino hardly knows crime, and its prison is but little used. It has, however, a justiciary, which is made up of lawyers summoned from the Roman bar to sit in judgment for a certain period every year.[2] For the citizens of this small state, which has an area of thirty-two square miles and a population of about 8000, are too well acquainted with each other to be asked to pass judgment upon the affairs of their neighbors.

Andorra

In the eastern stretches of the Pyrenees lies a tiny state, only twenty miles by thirty in extent, which has maintained

[1] *Eclectic Magazine*, 129:603. [2] *The Nation*, 64:412.

its independence for more than six hundred years. According to tradition, Andorra was established by Charlemagne and his son, Louis of Aquitaine, and was made free and independent in 819, because it assisted one of Charlemagne's lieutenants in an attack upon the province of Urgel. But this story seems to be merely an unauthenticated legend, and Andorra undoubtedly owes its rights of self-government to one of those strange chances of which history is so full. In the thirteenth century it was under the suzerainty of the Count of Foix, and at the same time it owed a certain measure of allegiance to the Bishop of Urgel. As these two overlords each claimed entire control of the little state, their respective rights were determined by arbitration in 1278, and thus Andorra was saved from rendering complete submission to either of its feudal masters.

As the Count of Foix rendered homage to the King of France, the rights he exercised over Andorra were acquired by the latter country, and have been maintained to the present day. The French Republic keeps a Viguier, or Agent, not far from the borders of Andorra, who is appointed for life, and who has a certain measure of control over the administration of justice in the little Republic. A similar right is still exercised by the Bishop of Urgel, but his agent must be a citizen of Andorra and is appointed for only three years. Thus the Republic of Andorra has never acquired absolute freedom; but these feudal rights, which date from the Middle Ages, have grown more and more shadowy with the lapse of centuries, while the right of self-government has been vigorously asserted and exercised. For the people of the country, who number only about six thousand, are its rulers. They are divided into six parishes, and each of these parishes sends four delegates every year to the palace in the village of Andorra. These twenty-four delegates, who are elected for four years, constitute a Council, which chooses a President, or Syndic, and is vested with legislative powers. But so far does the patriarchal spirit prevail that the Council defers greatly to the wisdom and authority of the President, and expects him to take the initiative in bringing forward new measures and proposals. When a matter is to be decided, the members vote, not individually, but by parishes; and the President has a casting vote. The same conservative spirit is shown in determining the rights of suf-

frage and of citizenship. Only heads of families can sit in the Council or vote for its members, though a man who is over sixty years of age can transfer his right of voting to a son. Nor does a more unrestricted suffrage seem anywise necessary when one considers the simplicity of the whole machinery of government and the exceedingly small volume of public business that is transacted. There are only four or five state officials; a poll-tax on sheep and goats, and a tax on corn supply all the revenue that is needed by the Republic; the prison seldom has an occupant; civil suits are infrequent and are easily settled.

Such is the government of the so-called Republic of Andorra. Its patriarchal character reflects the life and manners of a simple people who cling fast to ancient usages and ancient habits of thought. They have made no advance in education and have contributed nothing to science, art, or letters. Even the magnates and landowners of Andorra are merely patriarchal peasants who dress like common laborers, are contented with the rudest dwellings, and know no other riches than flocks and herds. Even more primitive is the life of the ordinary peasant. His abode is nothing more than a hovel, which is sometimes perched on a steep mountain side, in the path of the avalanche and exposed to wind and storm. There he lies down at night on his bed of skins, undisturbed by the howling of the wolves which have not wholly ceased to haunt the mountain wilds. Thus life flows on unchanging in this secluded little country, and the strenuous thought of the nineteenth century has not wakened these primitive peasants from their mediæval slumbers. Their Republican form of government does not owe its existence to the French Revolution or to the spirit of modern progress. It springs from the temper of a sturdy mountain race. It is a survival, not a new creation. Only by courtesy is it included in a study of the growth of democracy in the nineteenth century.

Part II

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE AND RUSSIA

AUSTRIA–HUNGARY (Liechtenstein)

SERVIA BULGARIA

GREECE MONTENEGRO

RUMANIA TURKEY

RUSSIA

CHAPTER I

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

The history of France shows how various Celtic tribes lying between the Rhine and the Pyrenees were fused into a nation. The history of Germany is a story of the growth of a people and of their final union into one powerful state. Similarly, Italian history tells how states related by blood, but long dissevered, were at last united into a kingdom. But the history of Austria presents a very different record. It tells how races of different blood have been imperfectly amalgamated by conquest, and have remained dissentient and jealous of each other. The condition of Austria-Hungary to-day cannot be understood without a brief statement of its earlier history.

Austria properly comprises a portion of that tract which was in ancient times known as Noricum and Pannonia. In this district German peoples settled, and were forced by the course of events into fulfilling a peculiar destiny. For their geographical position brought them into close and vital connection with non-Germanic races. The region to the east of them was the meeting-ground of various peoples. It had always its native populations, and into it flowed successive waves of migration and conquest. Here dwelt Poles, Vlachs, and Slavs; and here Saxons, Jews, and Magyars found their way, and the Turks again and again sent their invading hosts. Thus the Germans who dwelt upon the western confine of this disputed territory held a position of great importance. They formed a barrier against the turbulence of that unquiet region and the tides of barbarism that sometimes rolled across it. So, at an early period, this outpost of the Teutonic civilization began to develop power and strength. Charlemagne divided the tract and made its rulers margraves. To the further portion he gave the term "Oesterreich" (Eastern Kingdom), whence the

name Austria. The margraviate of Austria was made an hereditary duchy in 1156. In 1278 it passed under the rule of Rodolf, Count of Hapsburg, who was also Emperor of Germany. From this time on it grew in importance and splendor, and began to overshadow the other German states. In 1453 it was raised to an archduchy; and shortly afterward the Hapsburg line, which still possessed it, gained new distinction. For the headship of the Empire, which had already been given to Count Rodolf, passed permanently to the Hapsburgs in 1493. Hence the fortunes of Austria became linked to those of a great imperial house, and under this line of emperors it gained in power and territory. In 1526 it acquired possession of Bohemia and Hungary. But through these very accessions of strength it was preparing the way for future trouble. Bohemia was populated by Slavs and Hungary by Magyars, a Finnish people belonging to the Turanian family. And thus begins the problem of uniting diverse peoples under one rule, a problem that was to grow more difficult and intricate as new accessions of territory were made. Moreover, in bringing alien peoples under her sway, Austria was entering upon a career that was destined to assume sharp contradictions. Her interests became closely identified with those of her subject races. She became more vitally connected with Slavs and Magyars than with Germans; and she remained intensely Catholic, while North Germany adopted the Protestant faith. Thus her civilization ceased to be peculiarly Germanic. The most powerful German state lost its claim to be the leader of Germany. All this, however, was only to be made apparent by time. The fortunes of Austria varied with the fortunes of war and with repeated redivisions of territory between herself and neighboring powers. But her possessions rather increased than diminished up to the time when the Holy Roman Empire was brought to an end in 1806. After that date her ruler could no longer wear the title, "Emperor of Germany." But in 1804 the head of the Hapsburg House, who had reigned over the Empire as Francis II., was entitled Francis I. of Austria, and was declared hereditary Emperor. Thus Austria, from being originally a margraviate, had become an empire. It was not, like the Holy Roman Empire, made up chiefly of German people. It embraced Slavs, Poles, Magyars, Wallachians, Jews,

Italians, and mixed races, as well as Germans. But it was populous, great, and splendid, and its sovereigns belonged to one of the great and powerful dynasties of Europe.

The new empire was indeed rudely handled by Napoleon. He routed its armies, curtailed its territory, and destroyed its dominant influence in Germany by forming the Confederation of the Rhine. But after Napoleon's overthrow Austria regained her old prestige. The possessions she had lost in Italy were restored to her with some additions, so that Lombardy, Venetia, and the Tyrol became a part of her domains. Bohemia and other Slavic states still belonged to her, and Hungary continued to recognize her sovereignty. Altogether her population was about twenty-five millions, and made her the most conspicuous and powerful of all the German states. For Prussia, the only one that could rival her, had but eight million people. Naturally, therefore, Austria assumed a commanding influence in the newly formed German Confederation. To her was given the presidency of its Diet and habitual deference in the conduct of affairs. And this honor was not an empty one, for the Confederation comprised thirty-seven states and a population of over thirty millions.

Moreover, the abilities of Metternich gave Austria a peculiar prominence in Europe. For Metternich really controlled the Holy Alliance and kept it strictly to its work of protecting the divine right of kings. Hence, through the agency of that astute statesman, Austria became the champion of absolutism and the uncompromising enemy of democracy.

Her name, therefore, came to be unpleasantly associated with despotism. Until the close of the war with Prussia, in 1866, Austria was regarded as an unprogressive and tyrannical power. Her chief ambition was to wield a commanding influence in Germany and with the Holy Alliance. Her chief task was to suppress revolutions throughout Europe.

But in neither of these aims was she successful, though she maintained her power and prestige undiminished for many years. Indeed, through the activity of Metternich she acquired additional influence and authority. For again and again she crushed popular uprisings in neighboring states, and her name became a terror to the lovers of constitutional freedom. And for a considerable time she kept her own territory free from

insurrection. Though the people of adjoining states took arms to win their liberty, her own subjects remained quiet under her stern and repressive sway. Yet even Metternich could not keep the revolutionary movement out of Austria. He did all he could toward that end. Throughout the whole Austrian territory the people were kept in ignorance; the press was controlled; the police inspired terror by their activity. And degraded and uneducated as the people were, Metternich felt sure that nothing was to be apprehended from them. But in spite of the rigid surveillance under which they were kept, they understood their own wrongs, and they grew ever more discontented. They had no rights and privileges, and they had to bear the burden of taxation in order to support the favored few. So in secret they nursed their resentment, plotted the overthrow of the existing régime, and awaited the signal of revolution.

The signal came in 1848. When the people of Austria heard that Louis Philippe had been forced to abdicate, they became clamorous for constitutional government. An insurrection broke out in Vienna. Prince Metternich's palace was assaulted and the Prince was obliged to flee from the country. The Emperor Ferdinand was frightened into making liberal concessions. He promised to allow the press its freedom, to grant universal suffrage, convene a popular assembly, and set free political prisoners. But finding that even these concessions did not restore quiet, he secretly left Vienna.

After his withdrawal the popular Assembly met, and under its tranquillizing influence the Emperor ventured to return. But his stay was short. A second uprising soon occurred. The insurgents captured the arsenal and murdered the aged Minister of War. So the Emperor once more betook himself to flight.

But the revolutionary movement did not confine itself to Vienna. The Italians in North Italy rose to gain their freedom. Hungary had long chafed under Austrian rule and now endeavored to break away from it entirely. And Bohemia and Silesia were in revolt, for the Slavs as well as the Hungarians disliked the Austrian yoke and cherished longings for independence.

Thus the prospects of the Empire were indeed gloomy, and,

unfriended, it could hardly have escaped dissolution. The Slavs and the Italians were repressed without great difficulty. But the insurrection of Vienna was of a most formidable character, and it was only by the aid of the Ban of Croatia that the Emperor succeeded in recapturing his rebellious capital. The insurgents were well organized and determined, and they refused to surrender even when threatened with bombardment. But the Croatian army of thirty thousand, combined with the Emperor's forces, was too strong for them. The threatened bombardment took place. A terrible slaughter occurred within the city walls, and the insurrection was brought to a bloody termination. But the Emperor dared not resume his sway over subjects who had offered him such fierce resistance. He resigned his throne to his nephew, Francis Joseph, and lived in retirement for nearly thirty years, his death not occurring until 1875.

More formidable still was the revolt in Hungary. The people of this country numbered several millions, and they were animated by an ardent love of freedom. Long centuries of alien rule had not killed their aspirations to be an independent nation. Excitable, intense, and passionate, they were now thrilled with the desire to become a self-governing people. Toward Austria they cherished no feeling of loyalty or gratitude. Her rule had been harsh and oppressive. The peasantry had been taxed heavily and deprived of all political rights and privileges. The poor man did everything for the State, while the State did nothing for him but reduce him to serfdom. For the nobility possessed such extensive powers that they could rule like feudal lords over the lower classes and prevent them from growing into a strong and vigorous third estate. Yet the nobles as well as the peasantry were now ready to take arms for independence; for, in spite of the privileges allowed them, they had not been free to develop their own national traits and characteristics. Austria had steadily tried to crush the individuality of the entire Hungarian people, and to mould noble and peasant alike into conformity with her own Germanic civilization. But this coercive policy was deeply resented by all classes, and made all unite in the effort to throw off the Austrian supremacy.

There were Slavs and Germans in Hungary who resisted the

Magyar movement, but in spite of them it promised to be successful. A national assembly had been granted by the Emperor Ferdinand, and it found efficient leaders and took vigorous measures to maintain the cause of Hungary by arms. Louis Kossuth and Francis Deák were among its most prominent members, and the former was made Governor-General of the country. And in Klapka, Bem, and Görgei, the Hungarians found able generals. Under their leadership the Hungarians won several victories. Austria was hardly able to cope with the rebellious people. Hungary seemed likely to become a nation. And yet on the eve of success came utter disaster. The generals did not coöperate properly with each other and with the civil authorities; and along with internal dissensions came foreign intervention. Russia was unwilling to see a free nation established on her very borders. She sent her troops to aid those of Austria, and the Hungarians were soon completely vanquished. Their armies surrendered. Some of their leading generals were put to death. But Kossuth escaped to Turkey, which refused to give him up to Austria or Russia in spite of their urgent demands.

Rebellion was everywhere crushed. Austria had reëstablished her authority through the length and breadth of her domains. Slavs, Poles, Magyars, and Germans were all alike held in subjection to her repressive rule. For though the régime of Metternich had ended, and though a liberal Constitution had been granted by the new Emperor, guaranteeing a national parliament, household suffrage, freedom for the press, freedom in religion, and universal education, yet the government soon drifted back into its old despotic ways. Francis Joseph was by no means an unprogressive ruler. As new crises arose, he showed the ability of the statesman in rising to them and in shaping his policy to existing needs. But he was only eighteen years old when he began to reign; the traditions of his Empire were all in favor of absolutism; and his success in finally suppressing insurrection blinded him to the danger of coercing the popular will. Consequently, on December 31, 1851, he revoked the Constitution he had granted less than three years earlier, though the clauses in favor of education were allowed to remain in force. Children between the ages of six and twelve were obliged to attend school. In

1852 trial by jury was abolished; and in 1855 a Concordat was arranged with the Vatican which gave the Pope a considerable control in the affairs of the Empire.

In thus abandoning the path of liberalism, Austria forfeited her right to lead and unify the German people. For a time, indeed, her power and prestige seemed to remain unshaken. She still retained the presidency of the Diet of the Confederation. She was much superior to every other German state in size and population, and, as she confidently supposed, in military strength. But as the years passed, she received one rude shock after another, and finally abandoned her despotic ways, only to find herself excluded from the new German nation. In 1859 she lost Lombardy through her inability to cope with Napoleon in North Italy. Startled by this reverse, she partially realized the need of a more liberal form of rule. Three Constitutions were granted in quick succession during the years of 1860 and 1861. None of them, however, proved adequate, and the policy and the character of the government remained practically unchanged. In 1864 occurred the war with Denmark. The combined Austrian and Prussian armies easily overcame the resistance of the Danes, and the war was on too small a scale to enable Austria to discern the vast military strength of her ally.

She was therefore unprepared for the crushing defeats of 1866 and she was deeply humiliated by them. At the same time they proved a benefit. They deprived Austria of leadership in Germany; they brought home to her the need of administrative and constitutional reforms. And trying as it was to be excluded from the new league of German states, it was doubtless for her good that this should be so. Austria was attempting to perform a double national function and the task was altogether beyond her powers. She was reaching westward and northward and trying to hold all Germany within her grasp; and at the same time she was reaching eastward and compelling Slavs, Poles, Magyars, and Rumanians to submit to a not wholly welcome rule. Each of these aims was an ambitious one. Either of them was vast enough to tax the full resources of the Hapsburg House. It was well, therefore, that one of them should be made forever impossible, and that all the energies of the nation should be devoted to the one remaining.

Excluded from Germany, Austria endeavored to strengthen her sway over her strangely composite dominions. Her Emperor and statesmen realized that radical reforms were necessary. The spirit of progress was in the air. Prussia had usurped the lead in Germany by enterprise, shrewd diplomacy, and thoroughly efficient administration. Austria must follow her example, if she would keep her place among the great European nations. The various races over which she ruled could no longer be kept in subjection by crude force. The day of absolutism had gone by. Even the autocratic Tsar of Russia was finding that his throne stood upon a quaking soil. The Austrian Empire could only stand secure by giving its subjects a liberal and enlightened rule.

In inaugurating such a rule, Francis Joseph found an able assistant in Baron von Beust of Saxony, who had removed to Vienna after the Austrian rout at Königgrätz. Von Beust had always been a friend and hearty admirer of Austria. Her claims to leadership in German affairs he had steadily endorsed, while Prussia and Bismarck had found in him a determined opponent. In recognition of his services the Emperor now made him Foreign Minister and soon elevated him to the Chancellorship in spite of his Protestant faith. A broad statesman, though not a great one, he urged liberal measures from the beginning of his new diplomatic career. By his advice a new Constitution was proclaimed. Independence was granted to Hungary, and Francis Joseph and his imperial consort were crowned King and Queen of Hungary at Budapest. Civil marriages were made legal. The army was strengthened and brought to a high state of efficiency. The Concordat with the Pope was cancelled. But to the Slavs von Beust would grant no concessions, and they grew clamorous against him. Like the Hungarians, they craved independence, and now that Hungary was a separate kingdom, they were indignant that their own demands were unheeded. In the national Reichsrath the Slavs and the Germans became bitterly hostile to each other. A political crisis seemed imminent. Hence, in order to remove dissension, von Beust resigned on November 6, 1871. He had been made a count in 1868 and he was now sent to London as a foreign ambassador. His name will always be associated with the beginning of Austria's new and liberal régime.

Count Andrassy, a Hungarian statesman, was appointed his successor with the title, Minister of Foreign Affairs and of the Imperial Household for the whole monarchy. In 1879, Count Andrassy resigned and was succeeded by Baron Haymerle, whose administration only lasted till 1881. Count Kalnoky was then appointed to the vacant position, and he filled it with such eminent ability that he was continued in the office for fourteen years. He was followed by Count Golchowski in 1895. Under these various ministers the Dual Monarchy prospered and made progress in many directions. But so distinct are the affairs of Austria and Hungary that they demand a separate treatment. For each monarchy has its own government, its own policy, its own peculiar problems to face and difficulties to overcome. Of the two countries Austria, as having the more distinguished history, may first engage attention.

By the Constitution which had been granted during von Beust's administration the government of Austria was partially placed in the hands of the people. But for a time the members of the lower Reichsrath, or popular assembly, were chosen by the Diets of the different provinces of the empire, and not directly by the voters of the nation. After a few years this method was changed, but the suffrage was not made universal. Four groups of electors were established, and a property qualification was required. Hence the total number of voters was not large when compared with the total number of male adults in the Empire. Nor was the Lower House able to exercise full control over affairs. Constitutionally it possessed unlimited legislative power, but this power the Emperor was sometimes able to usurp. For so many factions existed that it was almost always possible for him to form a combination in his own favor which would have a majority in the House.

That parliamentary government should not at once work perfectly was the natural result of the long years of despotic rule. Equally natural was it that the standard of official integrity should not be high. Those who received civil appointments regarded their positions as sources of private gain. They held the mediæval idea of government, believing that it existed for the benefit of a privileged few. They could not understand that public office was a public trust.

No more could the Government itself shake off mediæval

traditions and thoroughly abandon despotic ways. It still considered that the people needed to be watched. Absolute freedom of thought and speech it was not willing to allow. Hence, a system of espionage was still maintained. The police noted the doings of individuals as carefully as in the days of Metternich's rule, and over the press they exercised a vigorous censorship. The papers were not allowed to publish articles offensive to the Government.

The progress of Austria has, therefore, had sharp limitations ever since the liberal régime was instituted in 1867. Yet the era of progress soon began. Educational and domestic reforms were inaugurated. The business of administration was efficiently managed. De Laveleye, in travelling through Austria in 1882, received the impression that it was an exceedingly well-governed country.[1] Population increased. The volume of exports and imports grew larger. The Liberal party in the Reichsrath was strong, though not always in the ascendant. A powerful and well-equipped standing army was maintained, and in 1879 an alliance with Germany was made which Italy also joined in 1882. But peaceful relations with all powers were steadily cultivated.

The only war Austria has engaged in since 1866 is her struggle with Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878. These provinces she was empowered to occupy and administer by the Congress of Berlin. But Bosnia fiercely opposed the Austrian advance into her territory, and was only subdued after sharp fighting. Herzegovina submitted more quietly, though not without offering some resistance. Having occupied the provinces and given them the benefits of a progressive rule, Austria practically made them her own. They are now considered a part of the empire, though annexation was not authorized by the Berlin Congress.

During recent years Austria has passed a number of reform measures, one of the most important of them being the Electoral Reform Bill of 1896. By its provisions the number of deputies in the Lower Reichsrath was raised from 353 to 425, 72 of whom were to be elected by the male citizens who are twenty-four years old and own homes in which they have resided for six months. Though this is by no means universal

[1] "The Balkan Peninsula," Chs. I.–III.

suffrage, it is a stride in that direction. Indeed, in the election of the 72 members specially provided for in the bill the suffrage is nearly universal. In this year (1896) a scheme of currency reform was also carried through. But progress is not made without difficulty. The Conservatives and the Clericals sometimes combine to oppose liberal measures, and their influence in the Reichsrath is considerable. The Clericals are strongly anti-Semitic, and their power seems to be increasing. In the municipal elections held in Vienna in 1896 they gained a sweeping victory, 96 of their candidates being elected against 42 Liberals.

But no one party seems likely to command a majority in the Reichsrath. The groups in that body are almost as numerous as the races in the Empire, and they keep alive the spirit of faction. Race rather than political principles gives parties their rallying cry. Hence the race problem is for Austria a very serious one. In the Empire there are about 25,000,000 people, of whom 9,000,000 are Germans, 6,000,000 Czechs, 4,000,000 Poles, 3,000,000 Ruthenians, 1,000,000 Slowenians, 700,000 Italians, 650,000 Croats and Serbs, 200,000 Rumanians, 500,000 other nationalities. But though the Germans are the most numerous, the most widespread, and the most cultivated of any of these races, they cannot dominate the other elements and force their language and civilization upon them. That they are anxious to do this, however, recent events have made evident; for the language ordinance issued in May, 1897, roused the united and vehement opposition of the Germans, not only in the Chamber itself, but all over the Empire.

Count Badeni, the head of the Austrian Ministry, was the author of the obnoxious decree which opened all courts in Bohemia to lawsuits in the Czech tongue, and required all German officials in Bohemia to learn Czech within four years. Before this German had been the official language in Bohemia, and the German officials there monopolized the offices and all the advantages that go with official position. But Count Badeni's ordinance threatened to deprive them of their prestige and influence in Bohemia by making Czech as well as German the official language. The Germans therefore denounced it fiercely in the Reichsrath, and resolved to resort to all possible means to compel its withdrawal. Nor was their opposition to

the decree unreasonable, for it had been issued by the Ministry without the Emperor's signature, and it violated the Constitution, according to which a law of national import should apply to all Austria and not to a single province.

The German members of the Reichsrath forgot all sense of decorum in fighting against this ordinance, and made the Reichsrath a wild scene of tumult and disorder. Parliamentary business accordingly became impossible, and on June 3, 1897, the session was brought to an end. But when the Reichsrath met again in September, the German element, instead of mending its unseemly ways, became still more uproarious and violent. The Ausgleich, as well as the language ordinance, now roused its antagonism and moved it to take a determined and persistent stand for German rights and privileges. The Ausgleich is the adjustment of international relations by which Austria and Hungary manage their common affairs. It was first established when the Dual Monarchy came into existence, and it is renewed every ten years. Among other things it settles the amount that each nation shall pay to the common fund; and it was just this question of taxation that now rendered the renewal of the Ausgleich difficult. For Hungary had gained in wealth and prosperity more rapidly than Austria, and it was therefore fitting that Hungary's contribution to the common treasury should be increased and Austria's lightened. But the governments of the two countries found it difficult to make a new adjustment that would be mutually satisfactory, and agreed to recommend a renewal of the existing Ausgleich for a year.

As this arrangement was to Hungary's advantage, the Hungarian Parliament voted on October 21, 1897, in favor of renewal, though the vote was by no means unanimous. A strong party in the Hungarian Reichsrath, headed by Francis Kossuth, is desirous of making Hungary wholly independent of Austria; and it therefore opposed the renewal of the Ausgleich. As its opposition was considered factious, it was not able to command a majority; but what it failed to compass was accomplished in the Austrian Parliament. The Austrians looked upon the Ausgleich then existing as an injustice to their nation, and stoutly refused to renew it even for a year. Indeed, the proposal to renew it caused a stormy outbreak in the Reichsrath,

and brought the German party to the front as the champions of national privilege. It was in opposing the Ausgleich and upholding the rights of the Germans in Austria that Dr. Lüger made his famous twelve hours' speech.

The language ordinance was finally modified in March, 1898, and in June, 1899, the difficulties over the Ausgleich were settled by compromise, it being agreed that the existing Ausgleich should stand until 1907, after it had been subjected to certain changes which placed Hungary on an equality with Austria in its financial and foreign relations. But the turbulence occasioned by these burning questions was significant. It showed that Austria was not a united nation, and that disintegration might easily take place where so many races were held in imperfect union. The Germans showed themselves strong and aggressive during the period of national excitement; but the other races look upon them with jealousy. They have, moreover, to count upon the hostility of the Church, for the priests dislike the Germans on account of their freedom of thought.[1] The Slavs and the Poles retain their own strong individuality and race characteristics, and obstruct the consolidation of the Empire. The Czechs are eager to obtain their independence, for they look back upon the days when Bohemia was a kingdom with its own elected monarch. Similar aspirations are cherished by the Poles of Galicia; and the Slavs in the southern districts resent their subjection to a German dynasty. A wise policy is therefore needed to keep the Empire from falling asunder. The various provinces should be brought more and more under one central rule, or they should be allowed partial independence and formed into a strong federation. But the Emperor Francis Joseph has not worked persistently toward either of these ends.[2]

Hungary has not been behind Austria in legislative reforms and in educational and industrial progress. The Hungarians used to be considered a backward people, but they no longer deserve this reputation. They are energetic, alert, and eager to keep in touch with modern ideas. Elementary education is compulsory, and universities and technical schools of a high grade of excellence have been established. The literary activ-

[1] "Governments and Parties of Continental Europe," II. 19.
[2] *Ibid.*, II. 119.

ity of the country is considerable, the annual issue of books being large and embracing nearly every department of authorship. At the same time Hungary produces no writers of genius whose works are read all over the civilized world. She achieves greater things in music than in literature, some of her composers being widely celebrated. The material prosperity of the country is in keeping with its progressive tendencies and its intellectual energy. Imports and exports are increasing. The mining and manufacturing industries are in a flourishing condition. In particular iron and coal are produced in great quantities, and iron manufacture is growing rapidly.

But Hungary as well as Austria has its troublesome race problem. For in Hungary dwell Slavs, Germans, and Rumanians, as well as Magyars, and these sturdy races cannot easily be amalgamated. Yet it is precisely this task of amalgamation that Hungary is attempting. The Magyars are considerably more numerous than any other race in the kingdom, numbering about 7,500,000 against 2,000,000 Germans, 3,000,000 Rumanians, and above 5,000,000 Croats, Serbs, and other Slavs. Possessing this superiority in numbers, the Magyars are determined to make their own race dominant over all the rest. Exactly what Austria once tried to do to them they are now attempting to do to the non-Hungarian portion of the population. They wish to denationalize it and make it thoroughly Hungarian, so that the civilization of the country may ultimately have a uniform tone and character. And in this endeavor they are largely successful, though not yet wholly so. The Germans are too scattered to offer much resistance to the fierce nationalism of the Magyars. Some of them indeed leave the country rather than submit to the overbearing character of the Magyar rule. But the Rumanians stoutly cling to their own national ways of thought and life, and the task of making Hungarians of them is extremely difficult. They have less mental vigor than the Magyars, but greater stubbornness of temper.[1] While the Hun-

[1] "Few races possess in such a marked degree the blind and immovable sense of nationality which characterizes the Rumanians: they hardly ever mingle with surrounding races, far less adopt manners and customs foreign to their own; and it is a remarkable fact that the seemingly stronger-minded and more manly Hungarians are absolutely powerless to influence them even in cases of intermarriage. Thus, the Hungarian woman who weds a Rumanian husband will necessarily adopt the dress and manners of his people, and

garians rule them with a strong hand and force their own civilization upon them, they have reason to hold them in dread. Increasing rapidly, never changing their ideas and absorbing rather than being absorbed, they render to the Hungarians an external submission without losing their race characteristics. They cringe, yet defy. So, even when overmastered, they may still be gaining on their rulers. But so far as appearances go, the Hungarians are bringing Transylvania completely under their laws and institutions.

More difficult to control are the Croatians in the southwest portion of the kingdom. This people actively and openly resists the Hungarian supremacy. The Croatians have demanded and obtained a larger measure of independence than has been granted to any other people under Magyar rule; but they are still unsatisfied and are inclined to make trouble. In 1897 their disaffection assumed such a serious character that twelve districts in Croatia were placed under martial law. Nor was it in Croatia alone that the spirit of sedition showed itself. The spread of agrarian socialism had caused wide discontent among the working-classes; and in July of this year there was an extensive strike of the harvesters in central Hungary, who demanded higher wages, shorter hours, freedom of speech, and the right of combination. Alarmed at their demonstrations, the Government interfered in behalf of the employers and reëstablished order; but even in doing so it antagonized the Radicals and Socialists, on whom it depended for support against Clerical influence.

Thus it appears that Hungary as well as Austria is torn by dissension, and finds the obstacles in the way of homogeneity wellnigh insuperable. It is possible that the Hungarian spirit may in the end become dominant throughout the kingdom in spite of the resistance it encounters; but this result, if attained, must be the work of years and perhaps of generations. Nor is it by any means certain that the two monarchies will long

her children will be as good Rumanians as though they had no drop of Hungarian blood in their veins; while the Magyar who takes a Rumanian girl for his wife will not only fail to convert her to his ideas, but himself, subdued by her influence, will imperceptibly begin to lose his nationality. This is a fact well known and much lamented by the Hungarians themselves, who live in anticipated apprehension of seeing their people dissolving into Rumanians." E. Gerard's "The Land beyond the Forest," Ch. XXIV.

hold together. The Hungarians are not satisfied, even though they have almost complete independence, and the movement headed by Francis Kossuth, though sometimes defeated, as in the case of the renewal of the Ausgleich, may gather strength and become formidable. Even the smallest encroachment upon Hungarian rights and privileges causes deep resentment. When it was proclaimed that all military commands were to be given in German, the students of Budapest marched in procession through the streets to express their indignation, and angry protests were heard all over Hungary. The advent of a weak sovereign, therefore, might bring the union of the two monarchies to an end.

The Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary is governed by the Emperor of Austria, who is also King of Hungary, and by a body representing both monarchies, termed the Delegations. The powers of the Emperor-King are limited by the Constitutions of the two monarchies, which force him to govern in accordance with the will of each people as expressed by its legislature. The Delegations has control over foreign affairs, over the joint finances of the two monarchies, and over army affairs and war. It is composed of 120 members, 60 of whom represent Austria and 60 Hungary. The members are chosen by the two National Parliaments, each Upper House electing 20 and each Lower House 40. The Delegations sits alternately at Vienna and at Budapest.

Austria has a National Legislature and a number of Provincial Diets, each of which is composed of a single Chamber and legislates concerning local matters. The National Legislature consists of an Upper and a Lower House, and is termed the Reichsrath. In the Upper House sit princes of the imperial family, a number of hereditary nobles, archbishops and bishops, and life members appointed by the Emperor. The Lower House is composed of 425 members, elected by different constituencies, but in no case by universal suffrage. It chooses its own presiding officer. To be valid a bill must be passed by both Houses and receive the approval of the Emperor.

The legislature of Hungary consists of the House of Magnates and the House of Representatives. The former body is made up of hereditary peers, archbishops and bishops of the Catholic and Greek Churches, eleven representatives of the

Protestant faith, life peers appointed by the Crown, and sixteen members *ex-officio*. The members of the House of Representatives are chosen for five years by a suffrage limited by a slight property qualification. In both Austria and Hungary the executive is composed of a number of responsible ministers, each of whom is at the head of some important State department. Both countries allow entire freedom of worship, though in Austria the Roman Catholic religion is recognized as that of the State.

The annual expenditure of Austria is a little above $300,000,000, that of Hungary about $230,000,000; while Austria has a special debt of $610,000,000, and Hungary of $1,035,000,000. The army of the Dual Monarchy is one of the largest and most efficient in Europe, as in case of war it could put 1,300,000 men in the field. Its navy is small when compared with that of England or France, numbering only about a dozen first-class ships of war and protected cruisers. But it is increased by new vessels from year to year.

Liechtenstein

Smaller than Andorra and only a little more populous, this quiet German state goes unnoticed from year to year. Overshadowed by Austria, upon whose border it lies, its people are buried under the traditions and customs of the past, and their pulses are not stirred by the political restlessness of the times. But their country, which had formerly belonged to the Germanic Confederation, was made a constitutional monarchy in 1862, and its form of government therefore calls for brief mention. It is ruled by the head of the House of Liechtenstein — a House which has held the princely rank for nearly three hundred years. The legislative authority is vested in the Prince and in a Diet of fifteen members, who are chosen for six years, three of them by the Prince himself and twelve by the people. Although considered an independent state, the principality is not absolutely autonomous; for Austria controls its customs, its currency, and its postal system, and, through a court of chancellery at Vienna, exercises some direction of its affairs. With its area of sixty-eight square miles and its population of about 10,000, it needs no standing army and its people are exempt from military service. They are also freed from the burden of direct taxation.

CHAPTER II

THE BALKAN STATES

The country which lies south of the eastern portion of the Danube has had an eventful history. In that region of rugged mountains and fertile valleys civilizations have flourished and decayed, kingdoms have waxed great only to decline and fall, and invading races have wandered in search of a home. But of steady growth there has been little. The country has not been able to work out its destiny under the lead of one dominant and powerful race. Rather has it been a scene of confusion and bloody conflict ever since the Greeks and the Persians closed at Marathon nearly twenty-four centuries ago. For that deadly struggle was a prelude to the history of Southeastern Europe down to the present day. Separated from Asia merely by a narrow strait, this land has been the meeting-ground of two hostile civilizations, and within its borders they have come together with a shock that has echoed around the world. Bulgarians, Magyars, and other Turanian peoples came down from the lands north of the Euxine; the Ottomans and the Seljuks entered from Asia Minor or from the Mediterranean Sea. So one invading horde followed another across this rich but ill-fated region, and it could enjoy no settled peace. And when at last it fell wholly under the rule of a single power, it found itself beneath the feet of a merciless and cruel despot. The Ottoman Turk overran the whole Balkan Peninsula in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and he made it the scene of rapacity, barbarity, and slaughter. Its inhabitants were robbed of their goods and their children, tortured if they submitted, and tortured worse if they ventured to resist. Their sufferings make one of the darkest pages in history. Only little Montenegro with its impenetrable fastnesses succeeded in defying the blood-stained Ottoman power.

Consequently, there was no opportunity for political growth in this oppressed and afflicted country. Under Turkish misrule the peoples south of the Danube sat in dull despair for over three centuries. Sometimes they evaded their conquerors by resorting to the mountains; but they could not reap the fruits of their own labors and cultivate the arts of peace and civilization. All that they acquired went to enrich the Turk, whose corrupt reign required endless contributions from his long-suffering subjects. So commerce and industry had but the scantiest encouragement. The people had no interest in becoming prosperous when prosperity simply invited spoliation.

The whole Balkan Peninsula, then, was little better than a scene of desolation at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and here the ideas that brought on the French Revolution were necessarily slow in making their way. What could these peoples know of self-government after centuries of tyranny and persecution? To avoid the tax-gatherer was the height of their ambition. And yet some of these races were hardy and vigorous, and, in spite of their sufferings, had never learned to cringe to their oppressors. In their mountain homes they had cherished manly virtues, courage and independence; and they were ready to take desperate chances in winning their freedom. Five principal races there were in European Turkey besides the Turks themselves.

I. The Greeks, who, though possessing some Slavonic blood, were the undoubted descendants of the ancient Hellenes.[1] Like their ancestors in classical times, they loved freedom and they were ready to fight and die for it. Three hundred years and more of submission to Turkey had not crushed their manhood. They occupied very much the same extent of country which was included in ancient Greece.

II. To the north of the Greeks dwelt the Albanians. They are a branch of the old Illyrian race, and a peculiarly sturdy and courageous people. Travellers have often noted their erect carriage and their haughty bearing. Like the Greek, they hated their Turkish masters, but, unlike the Greek, who loves to dissimulate, they are frank, direct, and sincere. Possessing a lively temperament, they are fond of gayety and

[1] "Jebb's Modern Greece," p. 52.

more addicted to the habits of the highwayman than to the settled occupations of peace. Both their faults and their virtues are those of a hardy but half-civilized people.

III. The Vlachs, who, though their principal home is north of the Danube in Rumania and eastern Hungary, are also scattered over the Balkan Peninsula. Considerable numbers of them are to be found in northern Greece, Albania, Macedonia, and Bulgaria, and other districts south of the Danube. They belong to the Latin family of peoples, and their everyday speech is largely made up of Latin words. Quiet, peaceable, and industrious by nature, they do not share the fierce instincts of some of their warlike neighbors, though they prove good soldiers when tried on the field of battle. Wherever they dwell trade flourishes and the crafts of the artisan thrive. Their work in metal is especially good.

IV. The Serbs, a Slavic people, who settled south of the Danube in the seventh century and founded the kingdom of Servia. Made hardy by centuries of conflict with Greeks, Turks, and other races, they possess much sturdy strength and great power of resistance. Though the Turks conquered them, they could not force them to give up their language and their religion. Living in great simplicity in their mountain forests, the Serbs have kept alive the homelier virtues, and have learned to admire courage above all things. Their national songs, which are numerous and stirring, extol the extraordinary feats of their legendary heroes. But they ply the vocations of peace with entire contentment, and easily maintain themselves in comfort by rude agriculture and by keeping herds of swine. This latter industry has long been a leading one in Servia, owing to its vast oak forests with their abundant supply of acorns.

V. The races named above are Aryan, but peoples of the Turanian family have also settled in European Turkey. Notable among these are the Bulgarians, who made their way south of the lower Danube in the latter part of the sixth century, and founded a kingdom by conquest. Bulgaria was a powerful state at the beginning of the tenth century, but its strength declined and its people lost their distinctive character. The Bulgarians were in time absorbed by the sturdier Slavs around them, and retained little besides their name to indicate their

Finnish origin. Their features still bespeak their Tartar blood, but their language and race characteristics are distinctly Slavonic. Since they were freed from Turkish rapacity they have been a thriving, industrious, and progressive people.

These various races suffered alike from Turkish oppression and cruelty, and were alike desirous of breaking away from a rule which brought them nothing but misery. But they could not unite to win their freedom. Concerted action was made impossible by distance, by mountain barriers, by the watchfulness of the Turk, and by race jealousies. For some of these peoples hated each other almost as fiercely as they did the Turk. So the century has witnessed no grand and general uprising among these afflicted races. The European movement for freedom found its way across the Danube and the Balkans, but it did not cause a flame of insurrection to run north and south and east and west over the whole peninsula. One by one the states of southeastern Europe have broken away from their oppressor. Little by little has the power of Turkey been curtailed, and her right to rob and murder innocent peoples been taken away. It is therefore impossible to give a connected account of this brave struggle for liberty, with its mingled horrors and deeds of heroism. Each state that has gained independence must be treated by itself. Five such states there are, but it is not to be inferred from this that each of the five peoples above enumerated succeeded in becoming a free and separate power; for such was not the case. The states are; —

I. *Servia*

Goaded to desperation by Turkish cruelty, the Servians rebelled against their oppressors early in the century. In 1804 they began their struggle for freedom under the lead of a remarkable man, who is known in Servian history as Kardjordje, or Black George. His true name was George Petrovitch. Born of peasant origin about the year 1766, he showed courage and generalship of a high order in defying the formidable power of Turkey. For his resources were of the scantiest. Russia gave him secret encouragement, but his army was nothing but a brave band of Servian peasants. As for the

Servian nobility, there was none. It had been destroyed or driven out of the country by the brutality of the Turk. But unequal as the conflict seemed, Black George, by his activity and daring, finally came out victorious. He drove the Turks out of Servia, which for a short time enjoyed the first taste of freedom it had had for centuries. But in 1813 the Turks reconquered the country, Russia being too busily engaged in the conflict with Napoleon to give the Servians further assistance. Black George fled to Austria for safety, and when he reëntered Servia in 1817 he was murdered at the instigation of Milosh Obrenovitch, who was jealous of his power and influence among the peasantry. But Milosh himself now headed the rebellion against Turkey, and proved to be a brave and efficient leader. Baffled in all their attempts to subdue him, the Turks gave up the struggle after continuing it for more than ten years. In 1829 the Sultan granted independence to Servia, and recognized Milosh as its Prince. In the following year the dignity was made hereditary in his family. But Servia was still obliged to pay a yearly tribute to the Porte.

In thus changing masters, the Servians did not gain all that they had wished; for Milosh, a man of coarse instincts and rough nature, governed them in a harsh and despotic manner. Moreover the Russians, who had helped to free the country, now attempted to direct and control its affairs. Their influence soon became dominant, and from that time to the present day Russian intrigue has been unceasingly active at the court of Servia. Milosh himself found his powers crippled and curtailed by the machinations of Russia, and in 1839 he was forced to resign in favor of his son, Milan. But Milan died after reigning for a few weeks, and was succeeded by his younger brother Michael, who was at this time in exile with his father. First visiting Constantinople and receiving the approval of the Porte, Michael entered Belgrade in triumph, on March 15, 1840, and began his reign with good courage. But he found himself confronted with formidable enemies. The Senate, which had originally been established by Russian influence to cripple the power of his father, the agents of Russia at the Servian court, the widow of Black George and his son Alexander, and some of the most influential politicians

of Servia, all worked against him. For two years Michael struggled hopelessly against this opposition, and when an insurrection broke out against him in September, 1842, he relinquished the throne, and the House of Obrenovitch was declared deposed. Black George's son, Alexander, who had intrigued to some purpose, was now made Prince of Servia; but he was no more successful than the House of Obrenovitch in uniting the warring factions of his country. In December, 1858, a revolution drove him into exile; and Milosh, who had been living abroad for nearly twenty years, was restored to his former dignity. Upon his death, in 1860, Michael for a second time succeeded to the throne. Made wiser by travel and experience, he now gave the country an enlightened and acceptable rule. But misfortune seems to pursue the members of this house. On June 10, 1868, he was assassinated near Belgrade by the agents of his predecessor, Alexander, and the throne passed to his cousin Milan in 1872. Born in 1854, Milan was at this time only eighteen years of age. Qualified neither by nature nor experience to be a successful ruler, he was unable to guide his country through the difficulties that arose during his reign. Some forward steps were indeed taken. In 1868 and 1869 a new Constitution was framed which vested the powers of government in the Prince and a National Assembly, foreign trade was increased,[1] and in 1878, as a result of the war between Russia and Turkey in which Servia had taken part (p. 188), complete independence of Turkey was acquired. So Servia was released from the obligation of paying an annual tribute to the Porte; and in 1882 her Prince was by proclamation elevated to the rank of King. But many circumstances conspired to make the reign of Milan a failure. The Russians continued to foment discord at the Servian court; the national debt increased; and an unfortunate war with Bulgaria in 1885 brought disaster and humiliation. For the Servians, after attacking Bulgaria without good reason, were badly defeated and forced to seek protection from Austria-Hungary. Moreover the domestic relations of King Milan and Queen Nathalie were most unhappy and became a national scandal. The royal pair were divorced in 1888, and in 1889 King Milan abdicated in favor of his young son, Alexander,

[1] De Laveleye, "The Balkan Peninsula," p. 192.

and withdrew from a kingdom where his presence caused nothing but quarrels and dissension. As Alexander was born in 1876, he was too young to govern, and the royal prerogatives were for several years exercised by a regency. But in 1893 Alexander, though he had not yet reached his majority, assumed control of affairs. His reign, however, has brought no strength to his country. Servia continues to be the seat of intrigue; factional strife disturbs her quiet; unwise expenditure adds to her national indebtedness. In 1897 ex-King Milan reëntered the kingdom; but he was so little respected that his presence did not cause serious disturbance.

Altogether, popular government has been tried in Servia under very adverse conditions. The Servians have not been truly independent, even though their subjection to Turkey ceased early in the century. Their position, like that of other Slavic peoples along the Danube, is a trying and difficult one. The numerous Slavic races that are scattered throughout Austria-Hungary and the Balkan Peninsula can neither unite nor pursue their separate destinies unmolested. Aspirations after unity are not, indeed, lacking among them. Often has the cry of Panslavism been raised; but no practical scheme for bringing the various Slavic peoples into one nation or one federation has ever been proposed. But, on the other hand, either as small separate nations or as portions of larger countries like Austria and Hungary, these peoples are obliged to live under galling conditions. They cannot assert themselves vigorously without realizing their own powerlessness. The Slavs in Hungary are subjected to a strong but distasteful Magyar influence (p. 151); the Servians are tied hand and foot by Russia and other great powers. Servia would never be allowed to take a step that would imperil the peace of the Balkan Peninsula; nor is she permitted to manage her own affairs according to her own free will and pleasure. Russia watches her day and night, keeps agents at her court, and exercises a controlling influence upon her domestic affairs. Her political future is not promising; but her people meanwhile live a quiet and industrious life and grow in the arts of civilization.

Servia has an area of 19,050 square miles, and a population of about 2,500,000. By the Constitution adopted in 1889 the

powers of government are vested in a King assisted by a Council of eight Ministers, and two legislative Houses: an Upper House, called the State Council, or Senate, of sixteen members, half of whom are nominated by the King and half are chosen by the Assembly; and a Lower House, called the National Assembly, whose members are elected by the people. The right of suffrage is exercised by every male Servian twenty-one years old who pays fifteen dinans (about $3) in direct taxes. Elementary education is free and compulsory. The people are chiefly engaged in agriculture, but Servia has considerable mineral wealth, which will in time lead to the development of manufacturing industries. Some factories are already in operation.[1]

II. *Greece*

The second people to throw off the yoke of the Turks was the Greeks. Their condition was unfortunate in the extreme at the beginning of the century. Their harbors were unused and blocked with sand; their mountains were the homes of brigands; their ambition seemed to have perished. Yet the race had not lost its love of liberty. The very practice of brigandage had kept alive courage and daring, and the klephts, as the brigands were called, had remained unsubdued in their rocky homes. It was among this class that the love of freedom and the willingness to fight for it existed most strongly.

And even the peasantry throughout the country, broken-spirited though they were, could not wholly forget their glorious past. The French Revolution wakened in them some patriotic feeling. Patriotic songs circulated among the people and fired their national spirit. As in Italy, a secret society prepared the way for insurrection, and in 1821 the struggle for independence began. But the Greeks, true to their ancient political instincts, did not take up arms without giving their movement a character of legality and order. In January, 1822, the first National Assembly of Greece, numbering sixty-seven members, met at Epidaurus, proclaimed the Greek nation independent of Turkey, framed a Constitution, and vested the

[1] De Laveleye was of the opinion that Servia should confine her energies to agriculture; "The Balkan Peninsula," p. 198.

powers of government in a Senate of thirty-three members and an Executive Council of five. Thus Greece, though she had still to win her freedom, took her place among the countries which recognized the sovereign will of the people.

Freedom was finally gained after six years of fighting, but the conflict was bloody and desperate. Aided by a force of Arabs sent from Egypt, the Turks carried everything before them in the earlier years of the war. But their massacres and cold-blooded atrocities roused an intense feeling of indignation against them throughout Europe. Lord Byron went to the aid of the Greeks in 1823; and though he died before he had served long among them, his example was a tower of strength to their cause. It was followed by other lovers of liberty, who flocked to Greece from many lands and brought hope and inspiration to the struggling patriots. Above all, Canning lent Greece the weight of England's influence and interested France and Russia in her behalf, the latter power being also strongly influenced by selfish considerations. In 1827 the allied fleets appeared off the coast of Greece to act as a check upon Turkish barbarity. Being fired upon by the Turkish fleet in the harbor of Navarino on October 20, they returned the fire till few of the Turkish vessels were left to tell the tale of disaster. Thus by an "untoward event," as the Duke of Wellington termed this splendid triumph of the allies, the independence of Greece was virtually secured. The Sultan was awed by the interference of such powerful nations, and when Russia made war upon him in 1828, he abandoned his conflict with a people whom the sufferings of six years had not subdued.

Not all at once, however, could the Greeks arrange definite terms of peace nor establish a settled form of government. In 1827 they had changed their Constitution and appointed a single executive. John Capodistrias, a native of Corfu, was chosen President for seven years; but, though Greece had thus seemingly become a Republic. her destiny really depended upon the action of the three great powers which had secured her freedom and which still considered her under their protection. And the powers would not allow her to be a Republic. To conciliate Metternich, always an enemy to democracy, and to humor the Sultan, who was loath to see the nation that had been subject to him become a self-governing state, they recognized

Greece as a kingdom by the Protocol of London, issued on February 3, 1830; and they also deprived her of territory that was rightfully hers. Some of the northern districts, which were inhabited by Greeks and which had furnished no inconsiderable portion of the patriot forces, were made over to Turkey.

But for the kingdom thus curtailed and thus arbitrarily constituted without reference to the wishes of its people, it was not easy to find a King; and meanwhile Capodistrias ruled the country with an iron hand. For a number of years before he was elected President he had been in the employ of the Tsar. Indeed, it was as Secretary of Foreign Affairs for Russia that he had been able to help his countrymen in their struggle for independence, and had displayed the ability which they rewarded by making him their executive. But his Russian training now worked to his disadvantage. It made him arbitrary and despotic, and was the cause of his undoing. For the high-spirited Greeks would not brook his arrogance, and two members of the Mavromichales family, whom he had goaded to desperation by his injustice, assassinated him in 1831.

But nearly a year passed after his death before Greece obtained a King. Already had the crown been offered to Prince John of Saxony and Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, but it was declined by both, — by the latter largely because Crete, which he considered an essential part of Greece, was not included in the boundaries of the new kingdom. Nor was it deemed wise or even possible to bestow the royal office upon a Greek; for his countrymen, with their strong democratic instincts, would not have endured to see one of their number thus elevated above them. So it was necessary to seek a foreign prince, and one was finally found in Otto of Bavaria, who accepted the offered dignity, and arrived in Greece on February 6, 1833. But though he was welcomed with enthusiasm by the Greek people, he proved a most unsatisfactory King. Unfortunately, in the covenant make between him and the Greek nation, no stipulation was made that he should rule in accordance with the Constitution. Moreover, he was not quite eighteen years old when he landed in Greece, and he had been brought up in a despotic court; so his training and his lack of experience were against him.

It was not strange that he soon alienated the people who had so cordially received him. He governed without regard to the Constitution, and he bestowed the most important offices upon Bavarians whom he brought with him into Greece; while to the Greeks themselves he gave no voice in the conduct of their affairs. Such arrogance could have but one outcome. In 1843 the Greeks rebelled against this arbitrary monarch and forced him to dismiss his Bavarian followers. Realizing that he must make ample concessions or resign his power, Otto promised to govern through responsible ministers and a representative assembly. But this promise he failed to keep. The Greeks found that they were simply the creatures of a foreign task-master, who persistently abused his power. So they drove him out of Greece in 1862 and looked for a truly constitutional sovereign. Their choice fell upon Prince Alfred of England, who received almost the entire vote of the nation. But this choice was condemned by England, France, and Russia. In taking Greece under their protection these powers had agreed that no member of their own reigning families should sit upon the throne of Greece. So the Greeks were obliged to select another prince, and they chose Prince Wilhelm, the second son of the present King of Denmark, who was proclaimed King under the title of George I., on March 30, 1863. This selection was approved by England, France, and Russia, and on October 30 of this same year King George arrived at Athens. On the following day he swore to support the Constitution; and to this oath he has been true, as he has not, like his father (p. 230), defied the written law of the land.

Under his rule commerce has increased, education has been encouraged, and brigandage, which was widely practised thirty years ago, has been suppressed. Greece has become a prosperous country under this liberal sovereign, but by no means a contented one. The Greeks have steadily cherished hopes for national aggrandizement; but those hopes, far from becoming fully realized, have ended in disaster and humiliation. In two directions the Greeks looked for increase of territory. They desired to annex Crete, and to push their northern boundary forward so that it might include Thessaly, and even Macedonia and adjacent tracts. Accordingly, when the Cretans revolted from Turkey in 1866, the Greeks took a profound

interest in the movement and tried to direct it to their own advantage. But their efforts failed. Crete was subjugated by the Porte in 1869; nor were charges wanting that the Greeks, instead of helping the struggling Cretans, had played into the hands of the Turks when they found that their scheme for annexing the island was impracticable.[1] Again, in 1878, when the Berlin Treaty was made, Greece suffered further disappointment. While Turkey was absorbed in its conflict with Russia, the Greeks had raised an insurrection in Thessaly with the hope of adding it to their own territory. The insurrection was brought to a sudden end through British intervention; but the Greeks expected that their boundaries would be greatly enlarged when the powers met to settle the questions arising from the Russo-Turkish War. But to their great indignation the powers would do nothing for them at the Berlin conference. It was not till 1881 that the Sultan, acting under foreign pressure, ceded Thessaly to Greece; Macedonia, which the Greeks claimed with doubtful justice, was still included in the boundaries of Turkey.

But the day of national shame and sorrow came in 1897. For at the end of 1895 an insurrection again broke out among the Christian inhabitants of Crete, and very soon all Greece was aflame with excitement. The time for annexing the island seemed to have come. King George was forced into espousing the Cretan cause, and in February, 1897, he despatched a Greek squadron to aid the insurgents. Alarmed by this action, which foreboded war between Greece and Turkey, the powers attempted to coerce Greece, and prevent her from committing further acts of hostility against the Porte. But the ardor of the Greek nation could not be restrained. Once more did a secret society use all its influence to bring on a war with Turkey. The members of the Ethnike Hetairia, acting, as it subsequently proved, under the direct advice of the Prime Minister, M. Delyannis, made raids across the frontier into Turkish territory and thus provoked the Turks to invade Greece. But the military prowess of the Greeks did not equal their enthusiasm. Their armies were no match for those of Turkey, and were steadily driven back from the frontier of Thessaly, where hostilities began. The war was formally

[1] The *Nation*, 64: 200 and 433.

declared on April 17; by May 20 the Greeks were completely vanquished. Indeed, they never had the smallest chance of success. The Greeks were poorly disciplined and poorly generalled.[1] Yet they fought gallantly, and their defeat was viewed with concern by the friends of civilization and progress. For the Porte, flushed with victory, made extravagant claims upon its vanquished opponent. It demanded the cession of Thessaly, and an indemnity amounting to about $44,000,000. Not without great difficulty and much negotiation did the powers induce the Sultan to modify these demands. But he finally consented to fix the indemnity at £4,000,000 Turkish (about $17,600,000), and to accept in place of Thessaly a rectification of the frontier, which placed a number of important strategic positions in his possession. Accordingly, a treaty embodying these conditions was signed September 18, 1897; and, peace being thus firmly established, the country grew quiet, though the concessions made to Turkey were loudly condemned for a time and necessitated the resignation of the Ministry that had sanctioned them.

But the troubles in Crete which had led to the war with Turkey still continued, and were only brought to an end by vigorous action on the part of the powers. In September, 1898, the Mohammedan refugees in Crete killed one hundred British soldiers and massacred a thousand Christians, while the Turkish troops looked supinely on or even joined in the acts of wantonness and violence. The Sultan was therefore obliged to remove his troops from the island, and the powers took Crete under their own control while the appointment of a governor was pending. But in 1899 Prince George of Greece was made High Commissioner of Crete, and undertook the administration of its affairs.

During the excitement that followed the reverses of the

[1] The democratic spirit that prevails among the Greeks seems to make it impossible to subject them to soldierly discipline. Their condition throughout the campaign of 1897 was like that of the army of the Potomac before General McClellan made it a well-ordered and efficient force. And there was the same laxity among the officials of the war department and the generals in command that there was among the rank and file. "At no time was there a single strong mind dominating the Greek army." Consult "How the Greeks were Defeated," in the *Forum* for November, 1897, especially p. 361, and "With the Greek Soldiers," in *Harper's Magazine* for November, 1897.

Greeks in their struggle with Turkey, it was doubtful whether the royal family would not be driven from power. Always, indeed, in a great national crisis the position of King George seems insecure. For nearly three quarters of a century Greece has been subjected to foreign rule, and the experiment cannot be considered an unmixed success. Under the present Sovereign the country has undoubtedly made rapid progress; but his own contribution to this progress, though great, has not been vital. The Greeks, with all their faults of dissimulation, selfishness, vanity, and hasty temper, are an alert, earnest, and ambitious people, industrious and thrifty, lovers of art and education, eager for improvement. It would therefore seem fairer and wiser to let them work out their own problems of self-government and constitutional development. Only in this way can they make a genuine contribution to political science.

III. *Rumania*

The Vlachs, or Rumans, have been too scattered to unite into a single nation. Those dwelling in Transylvania could hardly break away from Hungary; and those whose home was south of the Danube were too widely distributed to have national aspirations. But that portion of the race which lives east of the Carpathians and north of the lower Danube has had a more fortunate destiny. It has succeeded in forming a separate and independent state, which has an honorable place among the minor kingdoms of Europe.

That kingdom is, as the sequel will show, of very recent origin; but the principalities of which it is composed have existed for more than six hundred years. In the thirteenth century Wallachia and Moldavia first came into being, and for a long time they maintained their independence. But the Ottoman power, with its hosts of fighting men, proved to be more than a match for them. They resisted it long and fiercely, but in 1511 they were subjugated and became vassal provinces of the Ottoman Empire. So these Vlachs east of the Carpathians, like their kinsmen south of the Danube, became acquainted with Turkish rapacity. The hospodars, or governors, of Wallachia and Moldavia were appointed by the Sultan, and they ruled in

the interest of their master rather than for the well-being of the provinces.

Yet the Danubian Principalities, as Wallachia and Moldavia were termed, did not suffer the worst consequences of Turkish misrule. They were separated by the Danube from the centre of the Ottoman tyranny, and they were on the border-land of Russia, that ancient foe of the Turkish Empire; so their people did not sit down in blood and ashes to bewail their misery as often as the races which dwell round the Balkan Mountains. Accordingly, the dawn of the century did not find the Danubian Principalities in a restless condition; and when the Greek insurrection broke out in 1821, these quiet and peaceable Vlachs did not rush into rebellion. Unfortunately for them, however, a Phanariot Greek, named Alexander Ypsilanti, entered Moldavia and Wallachia, called upon the people to follow the example of the Greeks, and raised the standard of insurrection. He was coldly received, and he was soon overpowered by the Turkish forces and compelled to fly across the Carpathians into Transylvania; none the less the Turkish authority had been assailed and the Turkish thirst for vengeance was excited. The Janizaries were let loose upon the unhappy Principalities, and their inhabitants now tasted the horrors of that rule which they had not been willing to defy. But after a time the Tsar Nicholas interfered in their behalf and took the provinces under his protection, for he was loath to see regions which he might one day own wasted and despoiled. By the Treaty of Akerman, made between Russia and Turkey on September 4, 1826, the hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia were no longer to be absolutely under Turkish authority, and were not to be removed without the consent of the Russian Government.

This was not independence, for the Porte still had the right to appoint the hospodars of the two Principalities; but it was certainly a step toward freedom, and in 1858 a still more decided advance was made in the same direction. In that year it was determined by a conference of the powers at Paris that Wallachia and Moldavia should be allowed to elect their own hospodars, though the suzerainty of Turkey was still recognized, and the union which the provinces had been attempting to establish was annulled. But it was in vain that the powers opposed a step that was natural and inevitable. The people of the two

Principalities were of the same blood; they were determined to be one in name and destiny. Availing themselves of the permission of the powers to choose their own hospodar, the Principalities each elected the same ruler in 1859, Colonel Alexander Cuza, and thus made the way to union sure and easy. In 1861 the union was accomplished, the two countries declaring themselves one under the name of Rumania and obtaining the Porte's approval of the arrangement.

But though union was effected under Prince Cuza, he proved but a sorry ruler. True, a new Constitution, extending the suffrage, was adopted under his reign; but his own power was increased at the same time, and his arbitrary use of it and his personal vices made him detested by the whole Rumanian people. So in 1866 he was compelled to abdicate. Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen was chosen to succeed him, after the crown had been declined by the Count of Flanders; and under his enlightened administration the country made steady progress. The authority of the Porte became more and more shadowy, until it was absolutely set aside. For in 1874 Austria, Germany, and Russia insisted on making separate treaties with Rumania in spite of the protests of the Sultan; and in 1878 Rumania was declared independent by the Treaty of Berlin. At the same time the boundaries of the country were readjusted. Dobrudja, at the mouth of the Danube, had been ceded to Russia by the Porte, and this district Russia made over to Rumania, exacting as compensation a portion of Bessarabia which Moldavia had acquired in 1856 by the Treaty of Paris. This exchange of territory ought to have been to the advantage of Rumania; for Prince Charles's troops had given Russia material assistance in her struggle with Turkey in 1877–1878, and their gallantry at the siege of Plevna had proved that the Rumanian Vlachs could be first-rate soldiers. But it was Russia rather than Rumania that profited by this new territorial arrangement, and the Tsar was thought to have been ungenerous toward his recent ally.[1]

[1] A study of the boundaries of Rumania before and after 1878 might lead one to suppose that Dobrudja was an excellent exchange for the portion of territory that was given up to Russia; for Dobrudja is much the larger of the two, and it greatly increases Rumania's coast-line on the Black Sea. But it is an arid and sparsely settled region (consult Vivien de Saint-Martin's "Nouveau Dictionnaire de Géographie Universelle," Tome II, article

The independence of Rumania which was granted at Berlin was in due time formally acknowledged by the powers. It was recognized by England, France, and Germany in 1880; and in the following year Prince Charles and his wife were crowned King and Queen of Rumania. Thus the two ancient Principalities had finally grown into a nation.

Rumania has an area of 48,307 square miles, and a population of about 6,000,000. The national debt is a little less than $250,000,000. The executive power of the country is vested in the King, aided by a Prime Minister and a Cabinet of eight. There are two legislative Houses: the Senate, composed of 120 members who are elected for eight years; and the Chamber, composed of 183 members who are elected for four years. The right of suffrage belongs to all male citizens who are of age and who pay taxes to the State; but the system of voting is somewhat complicated. For choosing senators the electors are divided into two colleges according to property or educational qualifications; for choosing members of the Chamber they are divided into three colleges. It is to be noted that the King has the power to veto all legislation. The chief occupation of the Rumanian people is agriculture, large quantities of the cereals being sent abroad every year. The export and import trade of the country is slowly but steadily growing.

IV. *Bulgaria*

The Bulgarians suffered like the other races that were subject to the Porte, but they were slow in raising the standard of insurrection. During the first three quarters of the century they engaged in no general revolt, sporadic encounters between maddened peasants and plundering Turks being their only manifestations of disaffection. But gradually they were roused to desperation by the cruel nature of the Turkish policy toward

"Dobroudja"); and its value may be judged from the fact that Prince Charles strongly objected to the arrangement by which the Tsar forced it upon him. Alexander is said to have been subsequently ashamed of his treatment of Rumania at this time, but he considered it a religious duty to get back all that he had been obliged to surrender by the Treaty of Paris (*Fortnightly Review*, 50: 802). The attitude of Prince Charles and the Rumanians toward the question is shown in Whitman's "Reminiscences of the King of Rumania," pp. 301–322.

them. For after the Crimean War the Turkish Government oppressed them in every possible way, its aim being to drive them out of their territory and replace them with Tartars and Circassians. In this way the Porte hoped to form the Balkan provinces into a barrier against the Russians, who might be tempted to cross the Danube by the supplications of a friendly power. But in this policy the Turks quite overreached themselves. The Circassians plundered the Bulgarians past endurance, and in 1875 the infuriated people rose in rebellion. And thus was started that series of events which resulted in the complete humiliation of Turkey. The Bulgarian revolt was suppressed with such awful cruelty that the Turk was execrated all over the civilized world. Servia and Montenegro now took up arms against the Porte, and when their discomfiture seemed imminent, Russia took the field in behalf of the Sultan's long-suffering Christian subjects (p. 188). Thus by his very rapacity and cruelty the Turk, instead of strengthening himself, brought down merited vengeance upon his head. By the Berlin Congress he was deprived of that very province which he had treated with such shameless barbarity. Bulgaria was by that body made an autonomous principality, tributary to the Sultan; the Balkans were established as its southern boundary; its ruler was to be approved by the Sultan, but to be chosen by the Bulgarian people.

Thus Bulgaria was at last delivered from a tyrannous rule which had lasted for nearly five centuries, the kingdom of Bulgaria having been conquered by Bajazet and annexed to the Ottoman Empire in 1396. Though its freedom was not yet complete, it was now free enough to establish constitutional government, and this it did by adopting a Constitution early in 1879. By this Constitution a single legislative Chamber, called the National Assembly of Bulgaria, was established, and one of the first duties of this newly constituted body was the election of a ruler. By a unanimous vote it chose Prince Alexander of Battenburg, who was approved by the Porte and the powers, and who assumed the duties of government on June 29, 1879. He was an able man and a high-minded one, but from the first he found the task of ruling an alien people difficult and thorny. Bulgaria is, like Servia, the seat of Russian intrigue. Lying between Russia and Constantinople,

and inhabited by a people who, though of Finnish origin, have become Slavic in language and characteristics, it inevitably excites the interest and cupidity of the great neighboring Slavic Empire. The Tsar's agents are always at its capital, Sofia, and so strong is their influence that the government is practically under Russian control. Moreover, republican principles have found converts among the sturdy Bulgarian people, and have created a sentiment in favor of thoroughly democratic institutions. And while this sentiment is not widespread, it sometimes makes itself heard.

Naturally, therefore, Prince Alexander soon found that he must face decided opposition. He did not well understand the temper of the Bulgarian people and at first he aroused their antagonism by disregarding the wishes of his ministers and attempting to rule as an autocrat. Soon after the beginning of his reign he had difficulties with his Cabinet which led to the dissolution of the Assembly in December, 1879; and in the elections that followed prominent Liberals spoke so contemptuously of Prince Alexander in their public addresses that he deemed it necessary to arrest them. But seeing the folly of this course, he soon abandoned his dictatorial methods of governing and established an intimate relationship with Stephen Stambuloff, the leader of the Liberal party. This remarkable man was already beginning to attract the attention of Europe, though he was now only twenty-five years of age. Possessing an iron tenacity of purpose, great foresight, and a lofty devotion to unselfish ends, he was for many years the centre of resistance to foreign intrigue and aggression. Alexander could not have had a wiser and better counsellor, and he learned to profit by Stambuloff's decision and shrewdness, and not to be offended by his masterful personality. Aided by this sound adviser and by his own good judgment, Alexander was for a time successful in overcoming opposition and winning the respect of the Bulgarian people. In 1885 he did much to strengthen his power by annexing Eastern Rumelia to his principality. This tract south of the Balkans belonged to Bulgaria, but in 1878 the Berlin Congress made it into a separate province and placed it under the direct military and political authority of the Sultan. Its people, however, would not submit to this despotic arrangement, which had been due

to Lord Beaconsfield's sympathy for the Turk. On the night of September 17, 1885, they overthrew the Sultan's government and immediately proclaimed the union of their province with Bulgaria. Alexander was quick to see his opportunity. Accepting the results of the revolution, he assumed the government of the province, and in April of the following year he was confirmed in it by a firman of the Sultan.

The energy and promptness with which Alexander acted in this matter made him popular with the Bulgarian people, and his popularity was straightway increased by a display of military genius. For the Servians, made angry and jealous by the annexation of Eastern Rumelia and the increase of power which it involved, assumed a very arrogant and offensive tone toward Bulgaria and forced it into war. As the Servians had the larger and better drilled army, they expected to be easily victorious. But to their own surprise and that of all Europe also, they found themselves entirely overmatched. Through the courage and strategy of Prince Alexander the Bulgarian army completely routed its opponents, and the Servian King was soon forced to sign a treaty of peace. Had it not been for the intervention of Austria, the Bulgarians would have carried the war into their enemy's country and subjected them to still greater humiliation.

Thus Alexander's prospects seemed encouraging, and but for the continuous interference of Russia he would probably have had a successful and prosperous reign. But in 1886 his army revolted at the instigation of Russian agents, and the Prince himself was kidnapped by a band of conspirators and carried into Russian territory after he had just signed his abdication. Through the prompt and vigorous action of Stambuloff the conspiracy was crushed, and Alexander, on returning into Bulgaria, was greeted with enthusiasm by the army and the people. The danger that had been so threatening seemed to have passed by, and Stambuloff confidently expected that the Prince would now be master of the situation. But just at this critical moment Alexander committed a serious blunder. Though he knew that the Emperor of Russia, Alexander III., was unfriendly to him, he was induced to send to that austere monarch a message expressing his own good-will and desire to please, and inviting a friendly reply. But the Emperor's

answer was so cold and formal as to convey a severe rebuke. Still the case was by no means hopeless. Stambuloff, much as he regretted Alexander's mistake, encouraged him to believe that he could face down all opposition if he showed a bold front and acted with unflinching determination. But the prince was not of heroic mould. Seeing that his path would be beset with difficulties, he lost heart and courage, and abandoned the struggle against intrigue and unprincipled opposition. On the 7th of September he again abdicated, and immediately left the country, never to return. Stambuloff sorrowfully escorted him out of the capital, where for seven years he had sat upon an uneasy throne. His death occurred on November 17, 1893.

He was succeeded by a ruler of less ability and weaker character, Ferdinand, Duke of Saxony, who was elected Prince of Bulgaria on July 7, 1887. Though he assumed the functions of government without delay, it was nearly ten years before his election was confirmed by the powers. But finally, in 1896, his title was formally recognized through the mediation of the Sultan. That this delay was prejudicial to him can hardly be asserted, but he has encountered the same obstacles that proved fatal to the success of Prince Alexander. The country is divided into the anti-Russian and pro-Russian parties, and owing to their ceaseless and bitter warfare, it knows little political quiet. For some years Stambuloff continued to lead the anti-Russian party, and showed such distinguished ability that he was recognized as one of the great men of his time. The office of Prime Minister, to which he was appointed by Prince Alexander, he continued to hold under Prince Ferdinand until his vigorous policy raised up formidable enemies and wrought his downfall. It was his steadfast aim to create a national spirit among the people and to remove dissensions, and in the prosecution of these ends he crushed treasonable conspiracies and thrust his opponents aside with a heavy hand. But his arbitrary methods caused the feeling against him to grow intense and bitter, and Ferdinand, who disliked his uncompromising and overbearing temper, joined the ranks of his enemies and treated him with harshness and indecency. In 1894 he was compelled to resign, and in the following year he was the victim of a cruel and

dastardly assault upon his life. Even at his funeral his enemies did not refrain from indecent manifestations of hatred.

In spite of the taking off of this leader of the anti-Russian party the Tsar continued to be unfriendly to Prince Ferdinand, whom he pronounced a "usurper." But in time the conciliatory attitude of the prince overcame this opposition, and when Prince Boris, heir to the throne of Bulgaria, was baptized into the Greek Church, the Tsar, through a representative, acted as sponsor at the ceremony. It was not long after this that the powers recognized Ferdinand as Prince of Bulgaria, as already stated.

Notwithstanding these disturbing political conditions Bulgaria has made commendable progress since it was relieved from Turkish misrule. Its schools have received the heartiest commendation from foreign visitors;[1] its imports and exports have increased; the resources of the country have been explored and developed.

Bulgaria, including Eastern Rumelia, which is now known as Southern Bulgaria, contains a little more than thirty-eight thousand square miles and has a population of about three and a half millions. The Prince in his capacity of chief executive is assisted by a Council of Ministers. The legislative power is vested in the single Chamber which was established by the Constitution of 1879. The members are elected by universal manhood suffrage and sit for five years; but the Prince can dissolve the Assembly at his pleasure. The delegates to the National Assembly are chosen in the proportion of one to every twenty thousand; but there is a Great Assembly, whose delegates are elected in the proportion of one to every ten thousand, and to which constitutional questions must be referred. The Orthodox Greek Church is recognized as the State religion, but many Mohammedans are found among the population.

Thus, of the five races enumerated in the early portion of the chapter, — the Greeks, the Albanians, the Vlachs, the Serbs, and the Bulgarians, — all have become free excepting one. Not indeed that all the members of these races have been equally fortunate. Undoubtedly there are Greeks, Vlachs, Serbs, and Bulgarians still under Turkish rule, for these races have been

[1] Samuelson's "Bulgaria."

so mixed and scattered that no one of them could hope to win liberty for all belonging to it until the Turk should be driven out of Europe. But European Turkey has been so curtailed in the course of the century, that most of the people who used to be plundered and tortured by the Sultan's agents are no longer subjects of the Porte.

One brave race, however, has not yet succeeded in freeing itself from the Ottoman tyranny. The Albanians still own the Sultan as their master, and still dread the visitation of the Turkish tax-collector. But it has been the force of circumstances rather than lack of energy and courage that has kept them from gaining their freedom. When the Greeks rose in 1821 the Albanians offered to help them, but their advances were coldly received. Thus a miserable race jealousy prevented two gallant peoples from uniting against their common enemy, and made the struggle of the Greeks more arduous than it needed to have been, and the lot of the Albanians less fortunate than that of neighboring races. For, stung by the unfriendliness of the Greeks, they have made no alliances with surrounding peoples, and they have not been strong enough to cope with Turkey alone. They have indeed been brave enough to attempt this impossible task. They rebelled in 1843 and again in 1880, but in each case they were soon suppressed. Yet they have undoubtedly profited by the freedom which Greece, Servia, and Bulgaria have won. The Turk has learned that it cannot torture its European subjects without calling down the vengeance of the powers. So it inflicts its worst atrocities upon the unhappy Armenians, and lets the races nearer home go comparatively unmolested. But at best the condition of a people under Turkish rule is not to be envied. It is to be hoped that the Albanians will ultimately pass under a more enlightened government. At the same time, it is impossible to foresee what lot will befall them when the "Sick Man" dies. It does not seem probable that they will be allowed to form a separate state and add one more to the petty kingdoms south of the Danube; yet they are too proud to merge their destiny in that of any neighboring race.

One more country of Southeastern Europe remains to be considered, but it cannot be classed with those that have

wrested their freedom from the Turk, for that country has never been completely conquered by the Ottoman power. It is the little kingdom of Montenegro.

V. *Montenegro*

Consisting largely of rugged mountains, this state, insignificant in size and numbers, has successfully defied the whole strength of Turkey. Its present inhabitants are the descendants of a body of Servians who took refuge in this mountainous tract after their own country had been conquered by the Turks in 1389. From that time on they maintained a desperate struggle with their implacable foe. Again and again the Turks overran their country, burned their capital, and slew and captured a large number of their people. But there always remained a remnant to carry on the war and defy the Ottoman invader. And finally, in 1878, that independence which they had never surrendered was formally acknowledged by the Sultan. At the same time the Congress of Berlin, recognizing and rewarding their splendid heroism, increased their scanty domain with grants of adjoining territory. Montenegro now comprises about thirty-five hundred square miles, and has a population of something less than a quarter of a million.

But in this brave little kingdom there has been but a very feeble growth in the direction of constitutional government. Its people, sturdy and independent as they are, do not feel the need of a written document to protect their rights. The patriarchal spirit is still strong in the country. There exists an innate respect for authority, together with a rude and primitive feeling of equality which puts prince and peasant very much on the same level. The Montenegrins obey their ruler because they trust him; but there is no servility in their submission. Heroes themselves, they render homage to a hero. A weak and tame-spirited prince could hardly control their fierce and rugged temper. Accordingly, their land has not been a scene of popular uprisings and civil discord. Almost annihilated in 1516 and deserted by their prince, the Montenegrins put themselves under the lead of their bishop; and for nearly two hundred years their rulers were elected by

themselves, and vested with both spiritual and temporal sovereignty. In 1697 they partially abandoned this right of election, as Petrovitch Nyegush was appointed Vladika, or prince-bishop, with the right of choosing his own successor, subject to the national approval. The succession was naturally kept among his own descendants, and the reigning Prince of Montenegro claims Petrovitch Nyegush as his ancestor. For a century and a half this simple and theocratic form of government was kept without change; but in 1851 the spiritual side of the sovereignty was abandoned upon the death of Peter Petrovitch, who was thus the last Vladika of Montenegro. And shortly afterward the power of the prince, which had been absolute, was nominally limited and curtailed. By the Constitution, which was granted in 1852 and changed in 1879, the reigning Prince has executive authority, while the legislative power is vested in a State Council of eight members, half of whom are appointed by the Prince, and half of whom are elected by the people. It is interesting to note that in this military state, which owes its very existence to centuries of warfare, and where every man carries his pistol and yataghan in his girdle, citizenship is coextensive with arms-bearing. Only those who can fight or who have fought for their country are entitled to vote.

But although Montenegro is thus by its Constitution a limited monarchy, it is still practically an absolute one. Everything depends on the will of the Prince. The Montenegrins are still a half-barbaric people with the vices and virtues that belonged to a semi-civilized state. They are industrious, brave, and temperate; but they are still too rough and primitive to develop political institutions or a rich and broad intellectual activity. Education is free and compulsory, but elementary; and the occupations of the people are chiefly agricultural and pastoral.

This study of Southeastern Europe would hardly seem complete without some mention of the Turks themselves; for all the countries that have been considered, with the possible exception of Montenegro, have been a part of European Turkey. So powerful and dominant has been the Ottoman race. And yet it is only by courtesy that the Turks can be

considered in a study of constitutional growth and political development. They have no politics; they do not know the meaning of constitutional government. The Sultan is an autocrat, and if he is removed it is not by the will of the people but by the intrigues of a corrupt and shameless court. True, the European tendency toward constitutionalism has found expression. But the expression has been nothing but a mockery and a sham. The Sultan Abdul Medjid proclaimed a Constitution in 1856, and his successors have followed his example. But these documents are absolutely meaningless. In spite of them the Sultans go on doing exactly as they please, without the smallest regard for the feelings of their subjects. The Turks have no rights that the Sultan does not choose to give them. There is, however, some machinery of government The Sultan cannot manage the affairs of his empire without organized assistance, and he has to help him two high dignitaries, the Grand Minister, whose functions are very much like those of a prime minister and who has a cabinet of ministers under him, and the Sheik-ul-Islam, who is the head of the Church. Then there is a body made up of eminent judges, theologians, and scholars which is termed the Ulema; and of considerable importance are the Mufti, who interpret the Koran. For the Koran is almost the only check upon the Sultan's will. His decisions must be in accord with its sacred teachings as expounded by the Mufti; and they must not contradict the laws of the "Multeka," which embodies the opinions of Mohammed himself and his immediate successors.

The present Sultan of Turkey is Abdul Hamid II., a cruel and vicious ruler, who stands directly in the way of his country's progress. His vices are recognized by the more liberal Turks themselves, and there is a party of young men at Constantinople who hold that their country's evils are all due to the iniquities of its sovereign.[1] They believe that under a wise and high-minded monarch, or under republican institutions, Turkey would no longer be the plague-spot of modern civilization. Accordingly, they hope to see their country regenerated when the present reign comes to an end. That their hopes are unfounded it would be harsh to say. But the careful student of history has no faith whatever in the "unspeakable Turk."

[1] The *Fortnightly Review*, 67: 639.

CHAPTER III

RUSSIA

The movement for constitutional government has been well-nigh universal throughout Europe during the nineteenth century, but two nations have steadily resisted its advance. Neither Russia nor Turkey has adopted representative institutions; in neither of these countries do the people have any control over national affairs. And yet neither of them could be ignored in a study of political and constitutional growth in the nineteenth century, for each of them well illustrates the defects and the dangers of autocratic rule. Moreover, the cause of representative government has not lacked champions in Russia. Loud and fierce have been the protests against absolutism, and more than one Tsar has thought seriously of convening a national assembly. This decided step has not indeed been taken. Russia is still governed without a Constitution, and probably will be for many years to come. But this absolute monarchy has been profoundly affected by the political progress of other European nations. If the Russian Tsars have ruled as autocrats, they have not been without liberal instincts; and if the Russian people have not obtained self-government, they have reaped the benefit of more than one radical reform. Accordingly, the political history of Russia since the French Revolution affords an interesting study.

But that stormy period did not at once bear fruit in the Muscovite dominions. Catherine II. sat upon the throne of Russia in 1789, and much as she affected to admire Rousseau and Voltaire, she yet detested the principles which were at the root of their teachings. The Revolution in France she viewed with horror, and the last years of her reign were reactionary rather than progressive. Her son Paul, who succeeded her in 1796, was too weak a character to change the policy of government.

But his reign was brief. He was murdered in 1801, and his son, Alexander I., who now came to the throne at the age of twenty-three, was in sympathy with liberal ideas. He came too at a time when Russia was ready to begin a larger career and to become more profoundly influenced by European civilization. Ever since the time of Peter the Great she had been struggling to win an extensive sea-coast, and under Catherine II. this end had been attained. Russia had now "wholly cast aside her character as a mere inland power intermediate between Europe and Asia. She had a Baltic and an Euxine seaboard."[1]

But with this new and important position among the European nations came new responsibilities, new opportunities, and new ideals of power and greatness. Russia was drawn into the struggle with Napoleon, and played no inconsiderable part in the events that led up to Waterloo. For Alexander I. was a conspicuous figure during the Napoleonic wars. His friendship protected Napoleon, even as his hostility helped to turn the scale against him. And his appearance at Paris in 1814 and 1815 among the allied sovereigns of Europe had no little significance. It showed that Russia was now to hold vital and intimate relations with the great European powers. It pointed to the Tsar as one of the potent and influential monarchs of Europe.

But unfortunately, in taking this position, Alexander failed to apprehend its legitimate requirements. It should have confirmed him in liberal opinions; but in the end it made him a reactionary. Naturally a friend of progress, he had cherished vast and beneficent schemes of reform through the earlier years of his reign, and had taken some steps toward bringing them to a fulfilment. Russians were allowed to travel freely, and foreigners were permitted to enter Russia; European books and papers were admitted into the country; contracts of freedom between serfs and their owners were made legal, and even the emancipation of the serfs was talked of; priests, deacons, gentlemen, and citizens belonging to the guilds were declared exempt from corporal punishment; and in 1813 there was organized and formally instituted a Council of Empire which had considerable powers, some of them legislative. But after

[1] Freeman's "Historical Geography of Europe," p. 534.

making so promising a beginning, Alexander grew tired of reform. The sovereigns of Europe were alarmed by the ideas which had led to the excesses of the French Revolution, and he learned to share their feelings. So he joined the Holy Alliance in 1815, dismissed his Liberal minister, Speranski, and, from being a wise and progressive ruler, became suspicious, conservative, and despotic. To the end of his reign he encouraged art, industry, and commerce, and showed an interest in education; but the cause of popular government he had learned to regard with mistrust and aversion, and the splendid promise of his earlier years was not fulfilled. He was succeeded in 1825 by his brother Nicholas, who, on coming to the throne, was obliged to direct his energies toward putting down a formidable revolt among the soldiers. The extreme severity with which he punished the leaders in the revolt was perhaps justifiable; yet from the beginning to the end of his reign he showed himself a typical Romanoff Tsar, headstrong, conservative, iron-willed, and despotic. Liberal measures found in him a most uncompromising opponent, though certain reforms which did not directly benefit the masses obtained his sanction. At his direction the laws were codified and the action of the courts was made more rapid; tribunals of trade were established, and increased political and social privileges were given to merchants; work upon the canal that was to join the Don and the Volga was continued; a law school, a technological school, and two pedagogical institutes were founded.

But foreign affairs interested Nicholas more than domestic questions. He made war upon Persia and despoiled her of several districts; and despot though he was, he took up the cause of Greece and helped to free her from Turkey, for it was part of his policy to humiliate the latter power, and, in case of its overthrow, to seize its domains. In 1831 he suppressed an insurrection of the Poles and made Poland a Russian province; while in 1847 was begun the great eastward march of Russia into Central Asia which has resulted in the acquisition of immense tracts, and which has not yet been brought to an end. Though Nicholas had played the part of liberator by protecting Greece in 1828, he had done so to cripple Turkey; to subvert liberty was more natural and agreeable to him, and

this he did in 1849 by helping Austria quell the threatening Magyar insurrection (p. 142). By this act he secured the goodwill of Francis Joseph, and by a clever exercise of diplomacy — an art in which he was somewhat proficient — he also gained the friendship of Prussia. Thus strengthened, he determined to renew hostilities with his old enemy, the Turk, and exact from him further concessions. In 1829 he had forced the Sultan to grant the free right of navigation in the Black Sea, the Dardanelles, and the Danube; now he hoped to drive him from power and possibly to gain possession of Constantinople.

But in this ambition Nicholas was destined to be wholly thwarted. Two nations, whose hostility he had not expected to arouse, united with the Turk against him. France declared war upon Russia to win military glory (p. 41); England, in order to maintain the integrity of the Turkish Empire. With the latter power Nicholas had been on very friendly terms, but to assail Turkey was to touch the very quick of British diplomacy. So Nicholas found that he had raised up a storm of indignation against himself in this supposedly friendly nation. Nor was he at this time able to conciliate feeling and disarm antagonism by wise action. Though not yet fifty years old, he was suffering from that deep, brooding melancholy which is so often the unhappy inheritance of the Romanoffs. So impaired was his mind that in 1853 an English physician predicted that he had not more than two years to live — a prediction that was to receive a striking fulfilment.[1] Hence, in the closing portion of his life it was impossible to have satisfactory intercourse with him. He was the creature of moods and whims, and his own courtiers as well as foreign diplomats were disturbed by his perversity and unreasonableness.[2] So nothing could keep him from the disastrous Crimean War, though fortunately he was saved from witnessing its humiliating conclusion. His death occurred on March 2, 1855, from brain congestion; not, as has frequently been asserted, from mortified pride and ambition.

[1] Count Vitzthum's "St. Petersburg and London," I. 31.

[2] These tendencies showed themselves early in his reign. At the time of the Greek Revolution, Canning wrote of him: "To say the truth, Nicholas puzzles me exceedingly, and seems to have puzzled the Duke of Wellington and perhaps himself." "Some Official Correspondence of George Canning," II. 27.

His son Alexander II., who succeeded him, was a liberal and progressive ruler. With his uncle's breadth of mind he united a tenacity of purpose and a practical bent which Alexander I. had not possessed. But, coming to the throne at a period of national humiliation, he could not give immediate attention to measures of reform. Sebastopol was captured; his armies in the Crimea were thoroughly vanquished by the allied forces. He was, therefore, obliged to make peace with England, France, and Turkey upon such terms as they dictated; and by the Treaty of Paris, arranged in 1856, he surrendered a part of Bessarabia and the right to keep vessels of war on the Black Sea. Thus Russia, instead of profiting by Nicholas's aggressive attitude toward Turkey, had only reaped sorrow and loss of power. But, the war once ended, Alexander soon showed himself a wise and humane executive. In 1858 he partially freed the serfs on the imperial domains; and on March 3, 1861, just as the American Civil War, which was to liberate four million negroes, was looming up before the world, he issued a decree for the total emancipation of the serfs throughout his dominions. Thus twenty-three million people were by this single act released from bondage. Some years were indeed allowed for the full execution of the decree, and the immediate effects of the emancipation were not altogether good. It took the peasants some time to learn how to use their freedom. But forty years have shown that this humane action of Alexander must be classed among the great and beneficent reforms of the century.[1] In other directions, also, Alexander showed himself a friend of civilization and progress. He caused commercial treaties to be made with Great Britain and China; he promoted the cause of education; he helped on the construction of railroads; and to the Jews, who were not at that time the object of blind and fanatical hatred, he granted increased privileges. But Alexander was not allowed to play the rôle of reformer without interruption. In 1861 occurred an uprising in Poland, which culminated in a widespread insurrection in 1863. The agitation had, to some extent, been occasioned by

[1] In Wallace's "Russia," Chs. XXXI. and XXXII., there is a thorough discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of emancipation. A still fuller one is to be found in Leroy-Beaulieu's "The Empire of the Tsars and the Russians," Vol. I. Book VII.

the success of the national movement in Italy in 1859; but the Poles had no foreign friend like Napoleon to fight their battles for them, and they could make no stand against the full strength of the Russian Empire. The insurrection was completely crushed in the course of the year 1864, and Poland was entirely denationalized. It lost its name and its separate government, and became simply a province of the Empire. But amnesty was granted to all political offenders in 1867, — one of many proofs that Alexander, though sometimes stern, was never cruel.[1]

But at the very period of this uprising Russia found herself face to face with a far more formidable foe than Poland. It was at this time that Nihilism began its strange and stormy career. In the political as in the material world action and reaction are equal. France found this to be so in 1789; Russia began to find it so three quarters of a century later. In each nation a long era of despotism produced a wild and brutal revolt against established order; in each nation a destructive rationalism was the result of governing men with unreason. But in France the protest of reason ended in a wild carnival of folly; in Russia, though it shook the foundations of government, it was powerless to overthrow them.

The first signs of the coming trouble were apparent in the decade after the emancipation of the serfs. For when men were made masters of their persons, it was argued that they ought also to be masters of their own intelligence. The Nihilistic movement, therefore, was, in its early stages, intellectual rather than political. Its aim was to emancipate the masses from ignorance and superstition; its leaders were the apostles of rationalism, who broke free from tradition, hated religion, and believed that education and free thought would regenerate the world. Embracing these ideals with passionate enthusiasm, they strove to propagate them through the whole Russian Empire. Whatever may be said of their cause, their zeal for it was unbounded. They believed themselves to be priests of a new dispensation, and this dispensation they preached in season and out of season with the ardor of a religious brother-

[1] Prince Krapotkin gives testimony to the contrary, but his feelings toward Alexander seem vindictive. See his recently published Autobiography, *passim*.

hood. And for a time they confined themselves to peaceable methods. They did not regard their movement as revolutionary, and they did not seek to further it by violence.

But gradually their attitude underwent a total change. If their efforts were not revolutionary, the Government at any rate considered them so, and it strove to thwart them by every possible means. The Nihilists themselves were imprisoned; their documents were seized; their property was confiscated. But these summary measures only increased their devotion to their creed. After a few years they grew fierce, fanatical, and desperate. They learned to regard the Government with bitterest hatred, and their movement assumed a distinctly political character. It was socialistic, destructive of law and order, the enemy of peaceable progress and the friend of revolution. But still the Nihilist refrained from actual violence. During the early seventies he acted as if at bay, angry, outraged, and vindictive, and ready to go to martyrdom in defence of his beliefs. But he remained a propagandist and not an assassin.

But in 1878 occurred a startling event which changed the character of Nihilism, and was the beginning of a long series of dreadful deeds. On the 24th of January in that year, General Trepoff was shot by a woman named Vera Zassulic, for ordering a political prisoner to be flogged. Vera Zassulic was acquitted by a jury; none the less her action set the Nihilists on fire. Inspired by her example, they adopted violence as a means of furthering their cause. Unable to contend with the Government, they sought to terrorize it. Dynamite became their favorite weapon, and the Tsar the special object of their murderous efforts.[1] To them he was the symbol of despotism, the head of the infamous system of government which they were seeking to destroy. Accordingly, they determined to offer him as a sacrifice upon the altar of Nihilism. For the Empire, they argued, could not stand, if to be its ruler meant death.

But in spite of the hostility of the Nihilists, the Tsar, for a time, persisted in his course as an enlightened and progressive sovereign. The Nihilistic movement did, indeed, excite his

[1] The hatred toward Alexander was intensified because he tried to set aside the verdict by which Vera Zassulic had been acquitted. Her arrest and imprisonment were ordered shortly after her trial.

indignant condemnation. He could not help viewing it with profound concern, for it seemed to him subversive of order and an enemy of progress. He therefore gave his sanction to those severe measures by which it was attempted to keep the Nihilists in check. To him, as the representative of ancient despotic usage, arrest upon suspicion, imprisonment without trial, maddening solitary confinement, and banishment to Siberia seemed the natural and proper means of dealing with promoters of rebellion. But that he punished vindictively there is scant evidence. Nor did he wholly abandon his plans of reform because of the signs of revolutionary disturbance within his Empire. On the contrary, he tried to accomplish the very things which the moderate and thoughtful Liberals desired. He relaxed the censorship of the press, shortened the term of military service, encouraged immigration and invention, and removed restrictions on travel. And he did much to improve the legal system of the Empire, which preceding sovereigns had labored to amend with very imperfect success. The laws of the land had become so numerous and contradictory that they rather hindered than helped the administration of justice, until Catherine II. attempted to collect them into a single code. This work, only partially accomplished in her reign, was continued by Alexander I. and completed under Nicholas I. But further reforms were urgently needed when Alexander II. came to the throne, for some of the fundamental principles of sound jurisprudence were scarcely recognized. But under this enlightened monarch trial by jury was established; the punishment of criminals was taken from the police and put in the hands of a judiciary; and flogging was prohibited except in prisons, in disciplinary regiments, and when authorized by peasant courts. But it must be admitted that in a country like Russia the value of such reforms depends upon the will of the Tsar. If he punishes officials who transgress the statutes, his edicts will be obeyed. But the arbitrary and domineering instinct is strong in a country where despotic government has been the rule for centuries; and those who exercise authority are not often called to account for cruel and tyrannical conduct, for the Tsar, however well meaning, cannot oversee all his minions, and correct their abuses.

But the persistent agitation of the Nihilists made Alexander

pause in the work of reform. The propagandists grew more and more dangerous and violent: the five great universities — at St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Dorpat, and Kazan — showed sympathy with liberal principles. So Alexander's views took a reactionary tinge, though he did not, like his uncle, Alexander I., wholly abandon liberal ideas. At the very time of his death he was maturing a plan for convening a National Assembly which should have the right of deliberating upon proposed measures, though not of voting upon them. But during the latter years of his reign Alexander undoubtedly looked with special interest upon the more external signs of power and progress in his dominions. And he had good reason to pride himself upon the gains that had been made. Nearly seven thousand miles of railroad had been constructed; the number of factories had been enormously increased; the export trade had risen from thirty million dollars to more than ten times that sum; the right to keep war vessels on the Black Sea (p. 42) had been asserted in 1870; and new and considerable tracts had been acquired in Central Asia.

Nearer home, too, Russia gained additional territory during Alexander's reign; for Turkey, her ancient enemy, was obliged to cede portions of her soil as a result of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877–78. Into this war Alexander was drawn by a series of complications which arose from the attempt of the peoples south of the Danube to emancipate themselves from Turkish tyranny. Foremost among these peoples were the Servians, who made war upon Turkey in 1876 and put a powerful army in the field. But they were unable to cope with the Turkish Empire, sustained as it was by exorbitant taxes wrung from the subjects of the Sultan all over his dominions. In 1877 their cause looked very dark, and the Tsar determined to protect them from the horrors that follow a Turkish victory. He declared war upon the Porte on April 24, 1877, and after a bloody conflict of nearly a year's duration he thoroughly routed the armies of the Sultan both in Asia Minor and in European Turkey. Peace was signed at San Stephano on March 3, 1878; and on August 17 an army of eighty thousand Russians was reviewed almost in sight of Constantinople. That the Tsar was sorely tempted to seize this long-coveted

stronghold and keep it against all assaults there can be no doubt; but he had pledged himself not to invade Turkey's capital, and he was true to his word. Constantinople remained in the possession of the "Sick Man," the armies of Russia withdrew across the Danube,[1] and the Tsar satisfied himself with the awards of the Berlin Congress. By the decisions of that body the Porte made over to Russia Ardahan, Kars, and Batum in Asiatic Turkey, as well as a district lying at the mouth of the Danube (p. 169). But in spite of the numerous gains that were made under Alexander, the Nihilists regarded him as a tyrant; and, after failing in four efforts against his life, they accomplished their end on the afternoon of Sunday, March 13, 1881. As he was returning from a parade a bomb wrecked the sleigh that bore some of his escort; a second one mortally wounded the Tsar himself, who had courageously stopped his own sleigh in order to look after his retainers. His death removed one of the best and ablest sovereigns of the century.

Alexander was succeeded by his son, Alexander III., who possessed the dominating traits of the Romanoffs. He was imperious, stern, and conscientious, though his conceptions of duty were narrow. In 1879 he had been rebuked by his father for advocating reforms; but after the tragic end of Alexander II. he lost his sympathy with liberal movements. Abandoning all thought of granting his subjects a Constitution, he lived for two years in retirement and reigned as autocratically as his predecessors. He was a man of high courage, like all belonging to his line, and it is hardly to be believed that he shunned publicity through personal fear. Probably he was anxious to preserve his dynasty from extinction rather than to secure his own personal safety. But whatever may have been his motives, he did not allow himself to be crowned till May 27, 1883, more than two years after his father's death.

During the coronation season, with its festivities, pomp, and parades, the Tsar would have been an easy mark for the Nihilists; but they made no attempt to take his life. In resorting to assassination they had overreached themselves and ruined

[1] An army of occupation remained nine months in the newly organized province of Eastern Rumelia to carry out the provisions of the Berlin Congress.

their cause in the eyes of the civilized world. They therefore decided to abandon dynamite and to win converts by peaceable means. But though the terrorism was thus brought to an end, the Tsar adhered to his repressive policy. The Nihilists were hunted out, condemned, and imprisoned because of their opinions; a rigid censorship over all publications was maintained; and political offenders as well as criminals were exiled to Siberia, and there treated with great hardship. It soon became plain that the reign of Alexander III. would not be a period of reforms.

But the reign was not a long one. On reaching middle life, Alexander showed the same signs of mental oppression to which other members of his line had been a prey, and he was also attacked by a wasting disease. The weight of empire was too heavy for him. On November 1, 1894, he died, at the age of forty-nine, and his son succeeded to the throne as Nicholas II.

Born on May 18, 1868, Nicholas was but twenty-six when called to reign over the mightiest nation in the world, and for a time he maintained a discreet silence and did not enunciate his policy.[1] Indeed, he showed himself an unusually self-contained and well-balanced character. Accordingly, the traditions of Russian statecraft were not immediately changed. The vast armies were maintained and improved; the navy was increased; the steady flow of exiles into Siberia was not diminished; and Russian diplomacy was still marked by intrigue, aggressiveness, and territorial greed. In China, as is elsewhere related (p. 324), Russia was particularly encroaching and caused irritation among the other great powers of Europe by the large concessions she obtained from the Chinese Government. All the more important were these concessions because the Trans-Siberian railway was slowly and steadily approaching completion, and was destined to make Russia's power on the Pacific extremely formidable. This vast enterprise was begun in 1891 and was carried forward in three great sections. The work was not hurried, but was done in an exceedingly thorough manner, so that the railroad itself, the bridges over the rivers, and the official buildings along the

[1] Such brief announcements as he made were in favor of maintaining the traditional autocratic rule.

route compare favorably with similar constructions in the most advanced and highly civilized countries.[1]

As time passed, however, the Tsar began to show marked independence of mind and character. He was extremely judicious in dealing with other powers, as he avoided entangling alliances and at the same time gave no just cause for offence; and in the administration of his own Empire he refused to be fettered by settled usage and custom. Although he preserved the efficiency of his vast armaments, he became impressed with the cruel and hideous nature of war, and he proposed to the great powers of the world a conference in the interests of peace. That the strong military nations would at once diminish their armies and navies, he hardly expected; but he suggested that all of them should cease to add to their armaments, and he declared himself ready to carry out this policy in Russia. His motives were much impugned and his scheme was pronounced impracticable; but none the less the Conference met at The Hague on May 18, 1899, and was organized under the presidency of M. de Staal, the Russian ambassador to England. All the greater powers of Europe and nearly all the lesser ones were represented at the Conference; and the United States and four Asiatic countries, China, Japan, Persia, and Siam, also sent delegates. For more than two months the Conference continued its sessions, and though it did not accomplish exactly what the Tsar had planned, its deliberations were by no means fruitless. For before its members dispersed, they prepared eight conventions, which were agreed to by a majority of the powers represented. Some of these conventions were designed to mitigate the horrors and barbarities of warfare, the use of balloons to drop explosives from the sky, of asphyxiation shells and of expanding bullets being forbidden; but the most important of them was the fourth, which provided for the establishment of a permanent court of arbitration with a bureau at The Hague, and made it the duty of all governments to encourage the submission of disputes to the court. Thus the Tsar Nicholas has made the whole civilized world his debtor; for the conventions of the Conference will work

[1] So travellers, familiar with the road, have stated; but recent reports throw doubt upon the correctness of their impressions. It is now said that much of the road must be built over again.

powerfully for peace and will help to rob war of some of its native savagery.

Desiring to see progress in all parts of his dominions, Nicholas gave much thought and attention to the wretched condition of Siberia under the exile system. He saw that convicts were not the best persons to develop a country and spread civilization; and he therefore determined to people Siberia with settlers who would make the most of its great fertility, and all its varied resources. When this plan is carried out, the custom of making the country the home of criminals will die of itself, just as Great Britain ceased to send convicts to Australia after the country was well settled with orderly and law-abiding inhabitants.

As the Tsar gave many evidences of an enlightened and liberal mind, it was unfortunate that his treatment of the Finns was oppressive and unjust. The Grand Duchy of Finland was ceded by Sweden to Russia in 1809, and received a guarantee from Alexander I. that its religion and its fundamental laws should not be changed. This guarantee was respected by the succeeding Tsars, each of whom solemnly swore to uphold the Constitution and the liberties of Finland. Under this Constitution, which dates from the year 1792, Finland had its own Parliament, consisting of four estates, the nobles, the clergy, the burghers, and the peasants; its own money and system of custom-houses; and the right to manage its own affairs. But by a manifesto issued on February 15, 1899, Nicholas set this Constitution aside. For in this manifesto he reserved the right to decide what laws should be considered to affect the whole Empire as well as Finland proper. Accordingly, as almost any law could be held to have some relation to the Empire in general, the Parliament of Finland was reduced to a mere provincial assembly, and deprived of the power to treat any other than local questions.

Even before the manifesto of February 15 the Russian Government attempted to increase the burden of military service in Finland, and to that end it brought a Military Reform Bill before the Finnish Diet. Such a bill could not have become a law against the wishes of the people of Finland while the Constitution was in force; but after the Constitution was made invalid by the act of Nicholas, the people were

powerless to protect themselves against this bill or against any other tyrannical act of the Russian Government. But they continued loyal and still regarded the Tsar as their friend, believing that, in taking away their liberties, he had been led astray by evil counsellors.

Russia has a European area of 2,095,504 square miles, and a total area of 8,644,100 square miles. The population of European Russia is about 100,000,000; and that of the whole empire about 130,000,000. Although the Tsar has absolute power, the administration of affairs is intrusted to four chief Councils. The Council of State consists of a president and an unlimited number of members appointed by the Tsar. It is divided into three departments of Legislation, Civil and Church Administration, and Finance; and its chief function is to examine into new laws that are proposed by the ministers, and to discuss the budget. The Ruling Senate has partly a deliberative and partly an executive character. It is divided into nine departments or sections, which meet in St. Petersburg, and each of which is presided over by a lawyer. No law can be valid without its sanction; it is also the High Court of Justice for the Empire. The Holy Synod is composed of metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, and takes charge of religious affairs. The Committee of Ministers has to a large extent the duties and functions of a Cabinet.

For purposes of local administration the country is divided into 107,493 communes, which are managed by the peasants themselves by means of the Mir, or communal assembly. A branch of the Greek Church is established in Russia as the State Church. It has its own synod and recognizes the Tsar as its supreme head.

In educational matters Russia is one of the most backward countries in Europe, its percentage of illiteracy being very large. Scarcely any provision is made for primary education. There are good secondary schools for boys and for girls, but their number is utterly inadequate to the needs of the country; and very much the same is to be said of the colleges and universities.

Part III

THE TEUTONIC NATIONS

GERMANY
HOLLAND
DENMARK
SWEDEN AND
NORWAY
SWITZERLAND

CHAPTER I

GERMANY

Before Europe became civilized, the Gallic and the Germanic peoples occupied adjoining tracts on either side of the Rhine. Gradually there came to each enlightenment, political growth, and national development. But the development was for each distinctive and peculiar. The Gallic Celts retained their own individual type of civilization and political life, and the Germans retained theirs. As time passed most of the Gallic peoples were welded into the French nation, while the Germanic peoples refused to give up their separate existence. They retained that independence which Tacitus mentions as one of their striking characteristics, and which neither the force of circumstances nor the strength of individual genius was ever able to overcome. The Holy Roman Empire was an empire only in name. Its head did not have a truly imperial power. Even so potent a monarch as Charles V. could not bring the stubborn German princes under an absolute sway. For even when he considered his authority to be complete and unresisted, that profound and subtle prince, Maurice of Saxony, undermined his power and drove him, a hasty fugitive, out of his own dominions.

With the intellectual and moral growth of Europe the ruggedness of the German temper showed itself more strongly than ever. The Reformation came. Luther made northern Germany break away from the Catholic Church, and the task of forming the German states into one undivided nation became increasingly difficult. To the separative influence of native independence was now added that of religious dissension. And in process of time came educational development and literary activity, which resulted in making the Germans a deep-thinking people. But with thought and

education came liberal ideas, dislike of autocratic rule, and emancipation from mediæval superstition and from conventional opinions. Hence the Holy Roman Empire was seen to have but the semblance of authority, and it gradually lost its power. To it could never belong the glory of making a united Germany.

Yet the hearts of the Germans longed increasingly for a great, free, and united fatherland. This longing was rendered so intense and active by the French Revolution that Leopold II., head of the Holy Roman Empire from 1790 to 1792, and Frederick William IV., King of Prussia, decided to crush such aspirations by helping Louis XVI. suppress his rebellious subjects. But in this effort they did not succeed. The French people triumphed over their King, and under Napoleon Bonaparte they overpowered Austria and Prussia. More than this, they made Germany more divided than ever. The chief central and southern states were formed into the Confederation of the Rhine, which espoused Napoleon's cause and furnished him men to win his victories.

But when Napoleon finally abdicated, Germany lapsed back into its old condition. The Holy Roman Empire, which was brought to an end in 1804, was not indeed revived. But nothing was done by the Congress of Vienna to unify the various German states. Every petty princeling was reëstablished in power, and was expected to rule as an autocrat. Constitutions were not approved of. The people were to have no rights whatever. Metternich, the Austrian statesman, exercised a paramount influence in the Congress, and made it take a resolute stand against popular government.

Thus the prospects of Germany were deeply discouraging after the Congress had ended its labors. Both liberty and unity seemed far away. The demand for Constitutions was heard all over the land; but how could they be wrested from reluctant and despotic rulers? Austria and Prussia, the two foremost states in Germany, were completely under Metternich's influence and were swayed by narrow-minded sovereigns. Democracy was odious to Francis I. of Austria; Frederick William III. of Prussia was not in sympathy with modern ideas. Of the remaining states no one was powerful enough to assume the leadership of Germany and to become the cham-

pion of the people's rights. For Austria and Prussia stood ready, at Metternich's bidding, to suppress such a movement by armed force.

National unity seemed more difficult of attainment than political freedom. The Confederation of the Rhine was succeeded in 1815 by the German Confederation, which lasted till 1866, but this union of the states was never able to grow into a nation. Federations lack permanence. History shows that they are powerless to prevent disintegration. Germany was not ready to repeat America's experiment. Her separate states were not on an equality. They could not unite by voluntary agreement. The smaller ones looked for some powerful one to lead them. But the two most powerful ones, Austria and Prussia, could never lead while they remained walled in by absolutism. Each was, indeed, ambitious for leadership. Each attracted attention by its superior power and prestige. In the rivalry of the two is the key to German history for half a century. Yet how that rivalry would end, to what amazing developments it would lead, no one could foresee in the days of Metternich's supremacy.

In spite of the obstacles to political progress, the movement for constitutional rights was not long delayed. Constitutions had indeed been provided for by the Articles of the German Confederation, and most of the German princes had promised liberal governments during the stormy times of the struggle with Napoleon. But the provisions of the Confederation proved to be a dead letter, for no one was responsible for carrying them out; and most of the princes failed to keep faith with them. But some there were who kept the promises they had made, and by them the cause of liberal government received its first onward movement. In North Germany only the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar was sufficiently progressive to fall in with the popular desires. But in South Germany Constitutions were granted in Bavaria, Würtemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt; and the rulers of these states led the way in this, for they wished to weaken the nobility by freeing the people.

These changes were all effected before the end of 1820. Meanwhile measures had been taken to prevent further innovations of a similar character. In March, 1819, Kotzebue, the author, was stabbed to death for undertaking to play the part

of spy upon German liberty as the agent of the Russian Emperor. The deed, horrible as it was, had no special significance. It was the act of a fanatic, not the result of a conspiracy. Yet it was viewed with deep concern by the reactionary German rulers. It destroyed all lingering sympathy with constitutionalism in the mind of Frederick William III. And it helped to bring about the Carlsbad Congress. This body, to which Austria and Prussia and several other states sent representatives, assembled in August, 1819, and adopted resolutions subversive of free speech and liberal tendencies.

Constitutionalism, therefore, made but little additional progress for a number of years. Metternich's influence was potent against it. But a movement was projected by Prussia in 1818 which helped on the cause of national unity. In that year the Zollverein, or Customs-union, was first planned. After a few years it was put into operation, and was gradually joined by nearly all the states of Germany excepting Austria. The benefits it brought were very great. The duties on imported goods were made uniform throughout Germany. Domestic manufactures were encouraged. Trade prospered; and the receipts of the custom-house were very greatly increased. Moreover, by causing the German states to work together in securing a commercial prosperity, it helped the national idea, for the advantages of common arms, common laws, and common government were made apparent. Nor did Prussia fail to reap special advantages from the union which she had founded. Its success redounded to her credit and gave her additional prominence among the states of Germany.

With the outbreak of the revolution in France in 1830, the hopes of the Constitutionalists were revived, nor were they vainly excited. Insurrection broke out in Electoral Hesse and Saxony, and Constitutions were granted in those states in 1831. A new Constitution was proclaimed in Brunswick in 1832, and one was adopted in Hanover in 1833, partly as the result of popular agitation and disturbance. To these changes the Diet of the German Confederation was opposed; but it was powerless to prevent or annul them. But the cause of the reactionists was helped by a foolish demonstration in Bavaria in 1832, accompanied with fervid oratory and outcries against autocratic government; and by an impotent

attack upon the police at Frankfort in 1833. These attempts, like the murder of Kotzebue, only called forth vigorous measures of repression from the opponents of liberal ideas. Austria, at Metternich's instigation, made a new assault on popular rights. Prussia and the Diet of the Confederation joined with her in the effort. The censorship of the press was made more rigid, and other reactionary steps were taken. Such coercion only deepened the desire for political emancipation and prepared the way for serious outbreaks. Yet for a time the agitations of the reformers seemed to subside. The reactionary princes grew more confident. In 1837 Ernest Augustus, uncle of Queen Victoria, who succeeded to the throne of Hanover, withdrew the Constitution that had so recently been granted.

Such arbitrary acts only hastened the downfall of absolutism. But the situation did not materially change in Germany for a number of years. The accession of new sovereigns in Austria and Prussia was attended with no political results. In 1835 Francis II. of Austria was succeeded by his son Ferdinand I., who was too weak to alter the policy of the Government. In 1840 the death of the Prussian King Frederick William III. caused his son, Frederick William IV., to receive the crown. From this latter ruler progressive measures were hoped for; for he was not a degenerate, like his fellow-ruler on the Austrian throne. Yet his undoubted intellectual gifts proved of little benefit to his country. He had no grasp upon practical affairs. Visionary and unstable, he drew his inspiration from the past and failed to adopt a consistent policy of conduct. In 1847 he expressed himself unreservedly against a Constitution.

But a crisis soon came, which caused him temporarily to alter his views. In 1848 occurred the revolution in France which drove Louis Philippe from his throne. Germany caught the revolutionary fever. Many of its rulers grew alarmed at the signs of popular agitation, and conceded what their subjects demanded. New and more liberal Constitutions were granted in Saxony and Würtemberg. In Bavaria parliamentary government and freedom of the press were wrested from the dissolute and timorous King. And in states of less importance than these similar concessions were obtained. Yet

it was not in these minor principalities that the revolutionary movement showed the greatest strength and assumed the greatest significance. It was felt in the two leading states, Austria and Prussia, and it brought about changes in them of no little importance. In Prussia the agitation immediately assumed an alarming character. A bloody conflict took place in the streets of Berlin between the citizens and the populace. The startled King abandoned his mediæval views about the absolute rights of sovereigns and put himself at the head of the popular movement. On March 21 he issued a proclamation declaring his willingness to make liberal concessions, and intimating his desire to unite all the German powers into one imperial state. So to some, who failed to measure his weak and vacillating character, the hour for effecting German liberty and the leader who was destined to accomplish it seemed to have arrived. The Diet of the Germanic Confederation had declared for a representative National Assembly. This Assembly met at Frankfort on May 18, 1848. It spent much time in fruitless deliberations, but finally, on March 28, 1849, it offered the title of Emperor to Frederick William.

But Frederick William was not the man to found an empire, and this he apparently realized. He declined the offer of the Assembly. His experience in his own capital had not been happy and did not encourage him to take upon himself new and larger responsibilities. A Constitutional Convention had met in Berlin in May, 1848; but it was largely composed of demagogues, and its proceedings were nugatory and impractical. It failed to formulate a satisfactory Constitution. The King accordingly abandoned his practical policy. Instead of falling in with the popular movement, he determined to suppress it by force. Berlin was filled with troops ; the Constitutional Assembly was dissolved; and a new and highly conservative Constitution was announced. Thus ended the revolution in Prussia. Yet, though defeated, it had deepened the desire for political emancipation and brought the day of absolutism nearer to its end. In Austria the movement had a similar course and met with a like reverse. In Saxony, the Palatinate, and Baden it assumed formidable proportions and was at first successful. But Prussia sent her troops into these states to crush sedition. The insurgents were overpowered,

and some of their leaders were shot. Gottfried Kinkel, the poet and scholar, who had left his chair at the University of Bonn to fight for freedom, was condemned to imprisonment with hard labor. After a year of extreme suffering he was rescued by the daring exertions of his friend Carl Schurz. He made his way to England and there remained until despotic rule in Germany gave place to free institutions.

The insurrections were crushed. The rivalry between Austria and Prussia still went on. Each of these states was jealous of the other. Each was desirous of gaining power and prestige at the expense of the other. At times all Germany seemed to divide into two hostile camps, ready to assert the claims of Austrian or Prussian supremacy. As years passed the despotisms that afflicted Germany were softened. Liberal ideas marched on with irresistible force. German scholarship became more and more famous. German literature commanded increasing attention and respect in all the centres of civilization. Goethe died in 1832. Very soon his name was on the lips of all lovers of literature. Naturally Germans grew proud of their achievements; their patriotism and their aspirations for a united fatherland became more deep and fervent. But still there was no German nation. Neither diplomacy, force, nor voluntary union seemed able to make an empire out of the dissevered German states.

But one man in Germany was forming large schemes, which were destined to accomplish even more perhaps than he himself expected from them. Otto von Bismarck, born in Prussian Saxony in 1815, entered public life in 1847, and soon attracted attention by his extraordinary powers. He served first in the Prussian House of Burgesses; then he represented Prussia in the Diet of the German Confederation, where he exerted a wide influence. Austria found him a serious obstacle to her plans for her own aggrandizement. In 1859 his diplomatic career began. He was sent by the King of Prussia to St. Petersburg and afterward to Paris; and at both courts he showed great skill in the conduct of affairs and rare knowledge of men. His successful career commended him to his country, but the breadth and boldness of his conceptions were not yet appreciated. For while he was adroitly performing his various tasks, he was planning for Prussia a great and brilliant

destiny. He aimed to make her the dominant power in Germany, and to accomplish this he saw but one method of procedure, and that was force. The German states would render homage to but one thing, military greatness. Only the bayonet could establish Prussia's ascendency. So Bismarck aimed to make her armies the best in Europe.

The opportunity of accomplishing this purpose was not long in coming. On January 2, 1861, William I. had succeeded his brother, Frederick William IV., on the Prussian throne. In character he was the opposite of his predecessor. He was not a visionary, but a man of affairs. His strength did not lie in intellectual accomplishments, but in a sturdy sense and knowledge of men. He knew how to select his advisers — an invaluable instinct in a sovereign — and this knowledge he manifested conspicuously by making Bismarck his Prime Minister. This responsible post Bismarck assumed in September, 1862. Almost immediately he showed a masterful hand. The wishes of the Chamber of Representatives he regarded as of no consequence. On one thing only he was bent. He was determined to use the national revenues to create an efficient army, and this he did in spite of all opposition. The representatives scolded, censured, and threatened him, and pronounced his acts unconstitutional; but they spoke to deaf ears. Bismarck was satisfied that his course of action would make Prussia great, and to his mind that was enough to justify it. Practically he carried on the government for several years without legislative assistance. This high-handed conduct was in utter defiance of the Constitution; but the course of events gave it a partial justification. On November 15, 1863, Frederick VII., King of Denmark, died, and was succeeded by Christian IX. of a different line. The right of the new King to the Danish throne was unquestioned; whether he was also the lawful ruler of Schleswig and Holstein was not so certain. For these duchies, on the southern border of Denmark, had for some time resisted Danish rule, claiming that they were not governed by the same law of succession as the other Danish provinces. This claim had led to war with Denmark in 1848 which had lasted till 1850 and into which some of the German states were drawn. The difficulty was then settled in favor of Denmark. But on the accession of Christian IX. the trouble

broke out afresh. It is not easy to decide whether the claim of Schleswig-Holstein was thoroughly well founded; but at any rate the Germans quite generally believed it to be, and were full of sympathy for the German inhabitants of these duchies. They wished to protect them from Danish aggression by armed interference; and this feeling was shared by Bismarck. That he cared much for the justice of the case may be doubted. He simply saw in the difficulty an opportunity for Prussia, and he made the most of it. He made common cause with Austria in defending the duchies against the Danes, who were speedily overpowered by the combined Austrian and Prussian armies. The duchies were ceded to the allies in 1864; Austria thereupon took possession of Holstein and Prussia of Schleswig. Thus Bismarck's despotic policy was beginning to bear fruit.

But the far-seeing Prime Minister was ambitious for larger triumphs. In 1866 he picked a quarrel with Austria over these same duchies, and brought on the Austro-Prussian War. Not content with the acquisition of Schleswig, Prussia endeavored to grasp Holstein too. Austria naturally resisted this aggression, and Prussia declared war upon her in June, 1866. The move seemed a bold one, for Austria was one of the most formidable military powers in Europe. Her population (including that of Hungary) greatly exceeded that of Prussia: her resources were in every way supposed to be greater. Yet Bismarck went into the struggle with absolute confidence, and the sequel showed that his confidence was justified. He knew what few beside himself did know — that the Prussian army was the best drilled and the best disciplined in Europe. He placed great hopes, moreover, in the military genius of von Moltke, the distinguished Prussian general, and in the effectiveness of the breech-loading needle-gun. Nor did he expect that Prussia would fight her battles all alone. He had secured the alliance of nearly all the North German states; and the Italians stood ready to strike a blow for their own freedom and thus to keep a portion of the Austrian army busy in North Italy.

But the world, not knowing the completeness of Bismarck's preparations, was astonished at the shortness of the war. The Prussians took the aggressive. In the closing days of

June they entered Bohemia in three grand divisions. First winning a number of minor engagements and meeting with but one or two repulses, they converged near Königgrätz, a fortified Bohemian town. Here, on July 3, took place the decisive battle of the war. Some 400,000 men were engaged in it, and it was for a time fiercely contested. But in the end the superior strategy of von Moltke caused the Austrians to flee in disorder from the field. Their power was now completely broken. Other reverses followed in rapid succession. The Prussians pushed their way within a few miles of Vienna, and on July 30 an armistice was signed.

Thus in six weeks the war was brought to a conclusion. In that brief period Prussia had humbled a first-rate military power, subdued Hanover and Saxony and the other German states that had sided with her rival, and restored Venetia to Italy. For though the Italian armies had met with nothing but disaster, Prussia did not forget her ally when the terms of peace were made. Moreover, she had brought the Germanic Confederation to an end, owing to the opposition she had encountered in its Diet. The Confederation, indeed, seemed to be no longer needed. Prussia herself had become a centre round which the other German states could rally. She had now a commanding position in the German world.

Thus the policy of Bismarck was triumphant. All criticism of his arbitrary conduct ceased; and on returning to Berlin from the theatre of action he was received with the wildest enthusiasm. The Chamber of Deputies was now ready to make any grants he desired for the army; and this willingness he turned to good account. The army was kept in a high state of efficiency. Bismarck did not seek further wars, but war soon came. In 1870 began the deadly struggle with France. Though Bismarck was not the means of bringing it on, he saw in it a great opportunity. Not only did the North German Parliament vote to give Prussia its support, but, contrary to Napoleon's expectation, the South German states agreed to assist her also. By the help of these allies Prussia was able to bring into the field over six hundred thousand men, while France could not muster much more than half that number. So Bismarck felt as sure of the result as he had been on the eve of the war with Austria.

The conflict began, and once more was Bismarck's confidence shown to be justified. France offered a more obstinate resistance to the Prussian armies than Austria had done; but soon Napoleon was a prisoner and Paris in a state of siege. The position of Prussia had now become a commanding one. Her magnificent triumphs roused all Germany to enthusiasm. The states were ready to follow wherever she would lead. Her King could well assume imperial dignity. A parliament of the North German states met at Berlin on November 24 and voted to request the King of Prussia to become German Emperor. The King granted the request. On January 18, 1871, the Empire was proclaimed at Versailles amid the booming of cannon and the acclamations of assembled princes. William I. was solemnly declared German Emperor.

Thus the aspirations of the German people were satisfied. They had gained unity. More even than this — they had gained political freedom. For it was over no group of despotic states that the new Emperor assumed his sway. The struggle for constitutional rights had been long and severe, but it had been won. Little by little the old despotisms had crumbled before modern ideas. The states that gave their homage to William I. were constitutional states. Very gradually their sovereigns had granted the demands of their subjects. None of them would any longer have dared to claim absolute power. It was only a few years since William, as King of Prussia, had at Bismarck's instigation crushed free speech and set aside his Parliament. But such a high-handed proceeding was no longer possible in a single state of the new Empire.

And yet, though constitutionalism was triumphant, absolutism was not dead. Bismarck was recognized as the unifier of Germany. His power was almost unbounded. William gave him the rank of Prince and made him Chancellor of the Empire. But the Chancellor had never shown himself a friend of popular government, and to the end of his political career he used his authority in an arbitrary and masterful way. He could not ignore the Reichstag, or National Parliament, as he had the Prussian Chamber of Deputies; but he stood ready to intimidate or coerce it whenever it opposed him. During his long term of office he strove with varying success to accomplish six great ends.

I. He was fully determined to maintain Germany's military prestige and power. Having wrested Alsace and Lorraine from France, he knew that Germany must always be prepared for war with that irritated and resentful nation. The French strained every nerve to maintain a vast and efficient army. Bismarck felt that Germany's army must be equally large and strong. Sometimes the Reichstag objected to the expenditure of money and energy necessary for keeping so many men under arms; but it did not dare to imperil the safety of the Empire by resisting the Chancellor's demands. In the end, Bismarck got whatever grants of men and money he wanted.

II. For the perfect security of the Empire, the alliance of other powers was necessary. For a time, after the war with France was ended, Germany maintained the most friendly relations with Russia. But Bismarck soon became convinced that Austria and Italy were more valuable allies. Accordingly, he induced these states to form with Germany that famous league which is known as the Triple Alliance, and which still exists. But even this arrangement did not satisfy him. Having dropped the Tsar, he became anxious to secure his friendship. In 1884 he formed a secret treaty of "benevolent neutrality" with Russia, which lasted till his retirement from office in 1890. The existence of this treaty was not revealed till 1896, and its disclosure called down severe censure upon the aged statesman. The proceeding cannot be regarded as strictly honorable. Austria and Italy have resented it since it was made known, and have considered that they were not fairly dealt with. But Bismarck always worshipped might more than right. To secure a great end he sometimes adopted questionable means.

III. Bismarck made vigorous war upon the Roman Catholic clergy in order to bring them entirely under Government control. Pope Pius IX. was not wholly friendly to the new Empire, and the clergy sometimes reflected his spirit. In 1873, therefore, laws were passed by the Prussian Parliament which greatly curtailed clerical authority. They were called the May Laws, because they were passed in the month of May; and were designed to regulate punishments inflicted by ecclesiastical dignitaries, and to require university training of those who were to be priests. The Reichstag also passed

a law which made it illegal to discharge clerical functions without the consent of the Government.

The passage of these laws produced a coolness between the Vatican and Germany. The Pope declared them invalid. The German Catholics were angered by them. But they were for a time rigidly carried out, and as a result many Catholic sees and bishoprics became vacant, for their heads came into conflict with the laws and were removed. But finally Bismarck felt inclined to make concession. He needed the support of the powerful Catholic, or Centre, party in the Reichstag for his financial and other schemes. Moreover, Pius IX. died in 1878 and was succeeded by Leo XIII., who was not unfriendly to the Empire. Negotiations were therefore opened between the Vatican and Berlin. At first they resulted in failure; but in the end the obnoxious laws were greatly modified, and some of them repealed. Bismarck thus gained the support of the Catholic party. As the Catholics comprise a third of the population of Germany, it was highly important to secure their entire good-will. So there was no course open to Bismarck except concession, though doubtless it was humiliating to him.

IV. The Socialists showed such activity and such destructive tendencies that Bismarck determined to suppress them. They did not, in the early years of the Empire, command many votes in the Reichstag; but they were splendidly organized for spreading their opinions. Their journals were numerous, their printing-presses were busy, their orators were unceasingly active. Their literature was widely circulated, and was constantly winning new converts to their dangerous views. In 1876 Bismarck endeavored to pass a law to keep them in check; but the Reichstag would not give him its support. The matter was accordingly dropped, but was presently revived under new and exciting conditions. In the spring of 1878 two attempts were made in quick succession upon the life of the Emperor. The Reichstag, which, after the first attempt, had still refused to pass a coercive measure, was dissolved. The Conservatives gained in the elections. By a vote of 221 to 149 the new Reichstag passed the law that Bismarck desired. Socialism was now under a ban. Its meetings were to be dispersed, its literature confiscated, its presses seized. But the law was in operation for only two and a half years; and at the end of

that time the Socialistic agitation was by no means quelled. The disease had been driven beneath the surface, but it had become more virulent than ever.

V. Internal affairs received the Chancellor's vigorous attention. His scheme of improvements embraced a reformed coinage, the codification of law, the nationalization of the Prussian railways, and a protective tariff. This last measure excited the opposition of the Liberals, and it has not contributed to the prosperity of Germany. But, both to encourage home industry and to substitute indirect for direct taxation, Bismarck believed it desirable, and was able to win a majority in the Reichstag to his way of thinking. His tariff legislation may indeed be considered a part of his effort to promote State socialism. For, finding that he could not put down the Socialists, he determined to disarm them by borrowing their own ideas, and accomplishing some of the very things which they aimed to bring about. To lighten direct taxation was one part of his programme, also to insure workingmen against accidents, poverty, and distress in their old age. But these measures did not bring about the desired results. The Socialists steadily increased in numbers and influence, and Bismarck eventually resorted again to repression. Repression, however, was as futile as conciliation. With every new election the Socialists gained more members in the Reichstag.

VI. The ceaseless flow of German emigrants to other countries made Bismarck desirous of establishing colonies all over the world. For he wished to turn the tide of emigration toward lands protected by the German flag. But in carrying out this plan he worked at a disadvantage. The regions with temperate climate were for the most part occupied. It was hard to find tracts where Germans could go and live contentedly. Africa afforded the most promising field for new settlements. Within her borders Bismarck established several colonies, including those of Damaraland, Usugara, and Somaliland. And, in the Pacific, Germany came into collision with Spain over the Caroline Islands, and acquired a portion of New Guinea and a group to the north of it called the Bismarck Isles. But in no one of these new possessions were the Germans willing to settle in considerable numbers. The tide of German emigration to foreign lands continued as before.

On March 9, 1888, the aged Emperor William died, deeply regretted by the German nation, and was succeeded by the Crown Prince, under the historic title, Frederick III. The new Emperor had ability of no common order and true greatness of character. He had played an important part in the wars with Austria and France. According to his own memoirs, it was he and not Bismarck who first conceived the plan of unifying Germany as the result of Prussia's brilliant military successes. But his reign was short and filled with suffering. On June 15, a little over three months after his accession to the throne, he died from a cancer in the throat, and was succeeded by his son, William II.

The change was an unfortunate one. William did not inherit his father's broad and liberal mind. Arrogant, narrow, and presumptuous, he has given great offence to the progressive element of the nation. The army is his pride. Its officers are treated with special indulgence and favoritism. Opposition he does not readily brook, as his conception of his power is autocratic. His own speech is immoderate, reckless, and unbridled. The free expression of opinion by his subjects he resents, and punishes by law when possible. But the courage, the resolution, the manliness, of his line quite fully belong to him; and in spite of the extravagant nature of his utterances he hardly deserves the epithet of "madman," which the Social Democrats apply to him.

This self-willed sovereign did not long endure the dictatorial ways of his Chancellor. In 1890 Bismarck was obliged to retire from office,[1] and was succeeded by General Caprivi. The new Chancellor, who was soon dignified with the title of Count, showed himself a discreet and able man. The task of inducing the Reichstag to change the organization of the army he accomplished with admirable tact and skill. But even while his administration won him friends, it raised up numerous enemies among those who disliked his devotion to the military interests of the Empire. And finally, as he encountered

[1] Bismarck died on July 31, 1898. Perhaps no statesman of the century wrought more important political changes than the "Iron Chancellor." What he stood for to the Germans and why they regarded him with unbounded admiration is well told in the essay on Bismarck in Kuno Francke's "Glimpses of German Culture."

increasing opposition, he resigned in 1894, and was succeeded by Prince Hohenlohe. No change, however, was made in the administrative policy.

Since the Franco-Prussian War the relations of Germany with the outside world have been for the most part tranquil. Neither have there been any serious domestic troubles besides the one or two recorded. The German Empire has now stood for more than a quarter of a century. It has gained in wealth and population. Its career has been highly prosperous. It has taken its place among the great and strong nations of the world. Indeed, in military efficiency it is perhaps the strongest of them all. Domestic reforms, moreover, are not neglected. In 1896 a new Civil Code was adopted which had been in preparation for a number of years. It effects some very important changes, including a uniform legal system for the whole Empire, compulsory civil marriage, and increased stringency in the divorce laws. And progressive legislation in regard to finance and other vital matters is yearly proposed.

Yet the condition of Germany does not seem to be wholly sound. The Empire is not organized upon a basis of equality. The different states do not possess the same powers and privileges, for Prussia has a dominant position.[1] Three-fifths of the population of Germany are within her border. Of the fifty-eight members of the Bundesrath she has seventeen. In the Reichstag she has 236 members out of 397. Her King is always the head of the nation, and usually her Prime Minister is its Chancellor. The smaller states are, therefore, overshadowed by this strong one. Authority and privilege constitute the federative principle which holds the separate state units together. Yet absolute equality is the recognized principle of citizenship; for universal suffrage prevails throughout the Empire. Hence the states are bound together on one theory, and individuals on a different, and, indeed, a contrary one. At present these two theories seem to produce no conflict. The Germans have a deep-seated respect for authority, which makes them acquiesce in Prussia's dominant position. But with the growth of socialistic and democratic ideas may come an assault upon the federative principle of the Empire.

And already are heard angry sounds which, perhaps, herald

[1] "Governments and Parties in Continental Europe," Vol. I. Ch. V

a political tempest. The Social Democrats are ever gaining in numbers and influence, and they are extremely bold and outspoken. In the Reichstag they make a continual attack upon the lingering absolutism of the Government. Its attempts to suppress them by force they denounce with vehemence, and the costly and oppressive military system excites their fiercest opposition. By revolution or by peaceable progress they aim to overthrow the present social and political system, and to establish communism in its stead. That their hopes will be realized seems improbable. Yet the moderate Liberals are to some extent in sympathy with them, and are ready to unite with them to secure a more truly democratic form of government. For the government of William II., which makes criticism of the Emperor a ground for imprisonment, exalts the military power above the civil, and prizes colonial expansion more than domestic progress, the Liberals do not feel profound respect. Democracy, therefore, seems likely to grow upon German soil. Whether its growth will mean the disruption of the Empire remains to be seen. It is probable, however, that the people, with universal suffrage in their hands, will accomplish all political changes by slow and orderly process. Having gained national unity they will cling to it tenaciously; and the Empire, which healed the dissensions of a thousand years, will not easily lose their allegiance.

The German Empire established by the Constitution of 1871 is composed of twenty-six states, which differ greatly in size and importance, and bear the various characters of kingdoms, grand duchies, duchies, principalities, and free towns. The Empire has an area of 208,738 square miles, and a population of about 53,000,000. Its head is the King of Prussia, who by the provisions of the Constitution is recognized as German Emperor. The Emperor has the control of the army; can declare defensive but not offensive war; make peace, form treaties, and appoint and receive ambassadors. There are two legislative Chambers, the upper of which is the Bundesrath. This body is composed of fifty-eight members and meets once a year. The members are appointed annually by the governments of the several states. The number allotted to each state is proportional to its population. The Bundesrath is presided

over by the Chancellor of the Empire. It is an administrative and advisory board as well as a legislative body. The Reichstag has 397 deputies, who are chosen by universal suffrage for three years. Like the members of the English House of Commons, they serve without pay. All laws passed by an absolute majority in the Bundesrath and the Reichstag must receive the assent of the Emperor, who has no power of veto. The Reichstag elects its own President. The Chancellor is allowed to attend its deliberations.

Education is compulsory throughout Germany, and the percentage of illiteracy is exceedingly small. All forms of worship are tolerated and absolute religious freedom exists.

The annual expenditure is about $300,000,000. There is no yearly surplus or deficit; for the states contribute whatever sum is needed in addition to the returns from the national sources of income. These returns come chiefly from customs and excise duties and a few state monopolies. The national debt is a little over $400,000,000. But each state has also its own separate debt, that of Prussia alone being over $1,000,000,000.

The army of Germany is without an equal in the world. By the conditions of service adopted in 1893 every German able to bear arms is obliged to serve two years in the army under active duty, or, if he belongs to the cavalry or horse artillery, for three years. He must also serve for several years more in the army of reserve. The total strength of the regular standing army is fixed by law at 479,229 men. The organization of the army is so perfect that it has been partially adopted by other European states. The navy, though inferior to that of England or France, is large and formidable and is growing rapidly.

CHAPTER II

HOLLAND

The path of political progress is supposed to lead toward democracy; but Holland has passed from republicanism to monarchy. Born midst the throes of the long struggle for liberty, the Dutch Republic lasted for over two hundred years and won for itself a proud place among the nations. Like the Greeks, the Dutch showed that a small people could have a great destiny. They gained their independence by the most heroic struggle recorded in history; they rivalled England upon the sea, and in art and learning they achieved the highest renown.

But in time they had to give place to greater and more powerful nations. The Dutch Republic had served liberty as well as England in the mighty march of events. Gradually it sank into the rank of a second-rate nation and lost all claim to supremacy upon the seas; and a disastrous war with England in 1782 was the culmination of national misfortunes. And meanwhile internal troubles had arisen and caused serious disturbance. The House of Orange, to which the Republic originally owed its greatness, had won devoted friends by its eminent services and created bitter enemies by its arrogance. In 1747 the office of Stadtholder, or chief executive, was made hereditary with this House, which, thus strengthened, aspired to the loftier dignity of royal power. If its head had been a man of commanding abilities this ambition might possibly have been realized. But William V., who became Stadtholder in 1751, was weak and inefficient; and his incapable rule became so unpopular that it was unable to rally the people to its support in time of need. The outbreak of the French Revolution caused a wave of democratic feeling to flow over the Netherlands. Accordingly, when the French

invaded Holland toward the end of 1794, the Dutch welcomed their approach, and William was obliged to flee from the country.[1] And with his disappearance the Dutch Republic, which had existed from the days of William the Silent, came to an end. On February 16, 1795, deputies from the various provinces of the Netherlands met at the Hague, abolished the Stadtholderate, and established the Batavian Republic. A new Constitution, which granted a more liberal system of representative government, was adopted, and for a time it appeared that the Dutch people had made a decided political gain.

But the gain soon proved to be illusory. The new Constitution, instead of securing order and progress, was but the beginning of political changes. In the course of a few years the form of government was changed several times; and in 1806 Napoleon Bonaparte made his brother, Louis Napoleon, King of Holland, and gave the country a new Constitution which recognized the Salic Law, guaranteed religious freedom, and vested predominant authority in the King.[2]

Thus the Dutch adopted monarchy under compulsion; but before many years they accepted it of their own free will. For a short time indeed they lost their independence altogether; for in 1810 Louis Napoleon withdrew from the country after a brief attempt at reigning, and in the same year Napoleon Bonaparte made Holland a portion of his Empire. But in 1813, when his power was seen to be waning, the Dutch reasserted their independence. As their attempt at democracy in 1795 had not been crowned with success, and as the powers of Europe had set themselves against the principles of the French Revolution, the Dutch people now showed a conservative temper in choosing their form of government. Instead of reviving the Republic they established a monarchy; and in spite of the antagonisms that had been created by the last Stadtholder, it was to the House of Orange that they now looked for a sovereign. So powerful was the influence of the reactionary movement. William V. himself, who had taken refuge in England when he was driven from the Netherlands, was no

[1] The feeling of the Dutch people at this time is described in Carr's "Holland," published in 1806 (see p. 78).

[2] This Constitution is given in full in Carr's "Holland," pp. 80 *et seq.*

longer living; but his son Frederick William was called to the throne. Thus the long conflict between the House of Orange and its enemies resulted in the complete victory of the former; and thus the Royalists finally succeeded in establishing monarchy on the free soil of Holland.

William I., King of the Netherlands, was the title given to William Frederick by the notables of Holland in 1814. The Congress of Vienna recognized him as a sovereign, and added Belgium to his domain. But that autocratic body, which, under Metternich's guidance, supported the cause of absolutism, did not try to make the newly established monarchy into a despotism. This the Dutch would scarcely have tolerated, for they had first risen to greatness by defying the tyranny of Philip II. Reactionary though they were in reverting to a monarchy, they stood fast for the principle of constitutional sovereignty. The power of the King was hedged about by a Constitution which distinguished between the legislative and the executive functions of government, and placed the former largely in the hands of a parliamentary body. The crown was made hereditary with the House of Orange. In elevating William to the rank of king the powers had been actuated, not by generosity, but by their regard for the interests of Europe. For the importance of the Netherlands region had been shown by Napoleon's schemes of conquest; and in making it into a kingdom the powers hoped to prevent the aggrandizement of France. But their ideas of nation-making were crude and faulty. Believing that the prosperity of a kingdom depended upon the power of its king, and not upon the temper of his subjects, they ignored the wishes and feelings of Belgium. Indeed, they supposed that both Holland and Belgium would consider it an honor to be counted among the kingdoms of Europe. But differences of race and religion soon caused dissension between the northern and southern provinces of the new kingdom, and led to the division elsewhere described.

Shorn of half of his domains, William found a recompense for this loss of territory in the union and loyalty of his subjects. He reigned until October, 1840, and then abdicated in favor of his son, William II. Under this sovereign the kingdom was prosperous; and owing to the conservative Dutch temper the wide-spread revolutions of 1848 caused no serious

disturbances in Holland. The Liberal movement did indeed extend into the Netherlands; but as a new Constitution was granted on April 17, 1848, very soon after Louis Philippe was overthrown and the insurrection in Germany, Austria, and Italy had begun, there was no occasion for a vehement outbreak. For the new Constitution was liberal in character. It secured to the people every fundamental right which they desired. Not fuller guarantees of liberty, but greater respect for existing ones was what was needed for the political progress of the country. William II. died on March 17, 1849, before he had had time to show whether he was ready to abide by the Constitution he had granted. But his son William III., who succeeded him at the age of thirty-two, soon made it apparent that he possessed the stubborn temper of his House. Possibly his arrogance was increased by his Russian inheritance, for his mother was a sister of the Czar Nicholas I., who ruled his own country like a despot. Although the Constitution required the King to govern through the party that was in power, William showed no disposition to respect the provision. A Conservative himself, he insisted upon retaining Conservative ministers even when the Liberals had a majority in the National Parliament. Hence arose a long constitutional struggle between the King and the Conservatives on the one hand, and the Liberal party on the other; and thus Holland was drawn into that warfare which was waged all over Europe. Fortunately for the cause of progress, Holland was not without a great Liberal statesman in this important political period. M. de Thorbecke was for many years the recognized leader of the Liberal party, and under his able guidance it finally succeeded in scoring a decided triumph.

The storm broke in 1866 over the question of putting an end to forced labor in the island of Java. In 1862–63 the States-General had voted to abolish negro slavery in Holland's West Indian possessions; and the Liberals were desirous that emancipation should be extended also to her holdings in the far East. For they considered that the labor system which existed in Java and other islands in the Asiatic Archipelago was no better than slavery. But this proposition was stoutly resisted by the Conservatives, who declared that the abolition of forced labor in Java would ruin the island and cripple

Holland itself. Accordingly, they succeeded in defeating the first emancipation bill, which was brought forward in 1865. But they ruined their own cause by their high-handed conduct; for, in defiance of popular opinion, the Government chose for Governor-General of the East Indian Colonies a man who had sold his liberal principles for political preferment. This act called forth a vote of censure from the States-General, and the King met the situation by dissolving the Second Chamber, which represented the people. He accompanied the dissolution with a proclamation to the voters of the realm, in which he thus defended his own political attitude: "The continual changing of my responsible advisers would gradually become pernicious to the moral and material well-being of the nation, by crippling the powers of government. Steadiness of aim, on the contrary, increases the power of the administration, and of the executive."

The election which was held on October 31, 1866, showed a slight Conservative gain, and the King was so far encouraged. But the Liberals still had a small majority in the Second Chamber, and they were able to make themselves felt in the following year. For in 1867, the duchy of Luxemburg, which had been granted to William in 1815, not as a part of his kingdom, but as a private possession, became the subject of a special conference[1] of plenipotentiaries of the great powers, Holland, Belgium, and Italy; and the Liberals were not satisfied with the Government's action in the matter. This dissatisfaction the Second Chamber expressed in a formal vote; and on November 26 it rejected the foreign budget by a majority of two. The ministers consequently offered their resignation; but the King declined to accept it, and resorted once more to the policy of dissolution. The new elections were held on February 22, 1868, and resulted adversely to the King; for the Government's supporters now numbered but thirty-five against thirty-eight who were ready to vote in opposition.

Still the King refused to yield. When the new session of the States-General was opened on February 25, the opening speech of the Government ignored the fact that its supporters were in a minority, and plainly intimated that it expected the

[1] Luxemburg was finally made a neutral province, and its fortress was dismantled in 1872.

States-General to give it a willing support. "Let us all," it concludes, "unite in affection toward our sovereign, and in care for his faithful people, and the country will profit by our labors."

This subtle appeal to the loyalty of the people inclined the less resolute Liberals to a policy of conciliation; but it did not turn M. de Thorbecke from his course. Uncompromising in his advocacy of parliamentary rights, he spoke on March 2 upon the political issues before the country, and declared that the frequent dissolution of the Chamber was uncalled for. This view was maintained by other Liberals, who severely condemned the Ministry for complying with the King's illegal demands. The Government's policy was defended by the Minister of the Interior and the Minister of Foreign Affairs; but their pleas did not prevent the Chamber from passing on March 21 the following resolution by a vote of thirty-nine to thirty-four: "The House, having heard the statements of the ministers, is of opinion that the country's interests did not require the last dissolution of the Chamber." This vindication of constitutional privilege was followed on April 28 by another act which reflected upon the Government; for on that date, by a vote of thirty-seven to thirty-five, the Second Chamber rejected the estimates of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Thereupon the Ministry tendered their resignation, which the King accepted. But although it was de Thorbecke who had secured the triumph for the Constitutionalists, the King would not at once ask him to form a new Cabinet. Even as Queen Victoria tried to make Lord Hartington Prime Minister in 1880, when the country demanded Mr. Gladstone, so King William ignored M. de Thorbecke, and turned to men of more moderate views. M. van Riener and Baron Mackay were each requested to select a Ministry, but each found the task impossible. There was therefore no alternative but to recognize the leader of the Liberal party. On May 23 de Thorbecke was asked to select a Cabinet. He formed one without difficulty, and the long constitutional struggle was brought to an end. The conflict was waged in a small country and excited little notice; none the less it was one of the significant political conflicts of the century. The representatives of the Dutch people stood firmly for their constitutional rights, and compelled the

King to abandon the theory that he could ignore the will of his subjects by maintaining an irresponsible Ministry. Thus in Holland, as in most of the progressive nations of Europe, the principles of democracy triumphed over the mediæval view of the royal prerogative. That this issue of the struggle was inevitable may be admitted; for the Dutch Liberals were as stubborn as the King was arrogant. Moreover, the Constitutional party was demanding nothing more than was guaranteed in the fundamental law of the land; nothing more than was warranted by the progress and the political temper of the times. None the less M. de Thorbecke earned the lasting gratitude of his countrymen by his splendid stand for constitutional liberty. He resisted the tyranny of the King in the same spirit that Dutch burghers resisted Philip II., and his wise and lofty statesmanship certainly hastened the downfall of despotic and irresponsible rule. He died on June 4, 1872.[1]

William III. lived till 1890, and during the rest of his reign the course of affairs in Holland was for the most part orderly and uneventful.

There were no serious political conflicts; but the Constitution was revised in 1866, the electoral franchise being extended and the numbers of each Chamber of the States-General being increased. But in the far East Holland now met with a series of disasters through the long and wasting war in Achin. This state in the northern portion of Sumatra was once an independent sultanate; and when Sumatra was ceded to Holland by Great Britain in 1824, the stipulation was made that the independence of Achin should be respected. But in 1871 Great Britain withdrew this reservation, and war between the Achinese and the Dutch speedily followed. A very costly war it proved to Holland, for the Achinese are a fierce Mohammedan people, descended from Malay pirates and easily incited to rebellion. Hence the Dutch found it almost impossible to conquer them; for hardly were they subdued and pacified before they were again in arms. Year after year the war went

[1] It is difficult to find in English an adequate account of this gifted statesman. Both before and after his death, the English periodicals were strangely silent about him. A brief sketch of his career is given in the earlier editions of Vapereau's "Dictionnaire Universel des Contemporaires": and an account of the constitutional struggle in which he took part is contained in Appleton's "Annual Cyclopedia," issues of 1866–68.

on, exhausting the treasury of Holland and sacrificing its youths. Fresh volunteers were constantly sent to this rebellious district, only to perish through jungle warfare or tropical disease. For that strange malady, the berri-berri, caused great mortality among the Dutch troops, and finally made it difficult to find new recruits in Holland for the depleted armies.[1] When William died in 1890, Achin was apparently conquered; but in 1896 its people rose once more in rebellion, and were only overcome after two years of desperate fighting. But in July, 1898, their resistance came to an end.

William III. had two sons, but both of them died before him, and upon his death his granddaughter, Wilhelmina, became heir to the throne. She was at this time only ten years of age, and her mother, Princess Emma of Waldeck-Pyrmont, was regent during her minority. As the people were thoroughly loyal to the Orange dynasty, she encountered no serious difficulties during the eight years of her regency. Labor riots now and then occurred, showing that even into this conservative country the modern warfare between labor and capital had made its way; but they did not assume a grave or threatening aspect. And, although the question of constitutional reform was again raised, the agitation was not a stormy one, and a bill extending the suffrage was finally passed on September 6, 1896. Accordingly, when Wilhelmina came to her majority, in 1898, there were no angry clouds in the political sky. The rebellion in Achin had been suppressed, the kingdom was united and its population was increasing, and its financial condition, though disordered by the long war in Achin, was by no means desperate or alarming. The coronation of Wilhelmina took place amid wide popular rejoicing and universal expressions of loyalty and affection on September 6, 1898.

Holland is one of the most densely populated countries in Europe, having an area of 12,648 square miles, and a population of about 5,000,000. The executive power of the State belongs exclusively to the Sovereign, who has also the right to dissolve one or both Chambers of Parliament, being bound only to order new elections within forty days and to convoke the new meeting within two months.

[1] Partly on this account, a bill making military service compulsory was passed in 1898.

Legislative authority is vested in the Sovereign and in Parliament. The Parliament is termed the States-General and consists of two Houses, the First Chamber and the Second Chamber. By the Constitution of 1886 fifty members are chosen to sit in the First Chamber and one hundred in the Second. The members of the First Chamber are elected for nine years indirectly by the various states; those of the Second Chamber are elected for four years directly by the people. By the electoral reform act of 1896 the suffrage is given to all male citizens who are not under twenty-five years of age, and who can show positive signs of capacity and well-being, the most important sign being the payment of one or more direct State taxes, even though the tax be very small.

CHAPTER III

DENMARK

DENMARK has not always been the small and insignificant kingdom that it is at present. Knut the Great, who died in 1035, established his sway over Norway and England, and five centuries later Christian I. added Sweden, Schleswig, and Holstein to his domains, and made himself one of the most powerful sovereigns of Europe. True, the kingdom had its periods of weakness and misfortune. It suffered from feeble rulers, costly wars, and internal dissensions. It did not long hold Sweden in its grasp; and the greatness acquired by one sovereign was frequently lost by his successor. Yet, through the Middle Ages and the first century after the Reformation, Denmark was a considerable and important power in Europe.

But the common people did not profit by its greatness. Alike under powerful and under feeble rulers their condition was a most unhappy one. They had no rights and privileges, all power being usurped by the King or the nobility, who sometimes contended fiercely with each other for dominance in the kingdom. But whether the court or the nobles triumphed, the common people were steadily oppressed. Sometimes, indeed, they did make a stand for independence. Not long after the beginning of the Reformation we find them espousing the cause of Christian II. against the nobility; but they were defeated and reduced by the nobility to a state of slavery. In this condition of serfdom they remained without hope of relief so long as the aristocracy kept their ascendency; for under the régime of these tyrannical nobles even the clergy and the better class of citizens were denied all political privileges. But under the rule of Frederick III. the power of the nobility was broken. This able monarch, who reigned from 1648 to 1670, seeing how universally the nobility was hated,

enlisted the people on his side, overthrew the aristocracy, and made his own power supreme and unquestioned throughout the kingdom. But, contrary to their expectation, the people did not profit by this change of masters. They had confidently hoped that King Frederick would allow them, through their representatives, a share in the government of the country. But when, in 1661, he issued a new charter, it was found he had kept all the power to himself. The peasants continued to be serfs, and Denmark became an absolute monarchy of the most extreme type.

The era of absolutism, thus inaugurated, continued for over a hundred years. But in the latter part of the eighteenth century the levelling tendencies of the times made themselves felt in Denmark. King Christian VII. was ruling at this period, and he was not himself a progressive monarch; but though his reign did not end till 1808, he was, in 1784, obliged by illness to intrust the powers of government to his son Frederick; and under this enlightened prince several needed reforms were brought about. The processes of law were improved, the press was allowed greater freedom, and, in 1788, one year before the French Revolution, the peasants were emancipated. Thus, at the beginning of the century, we see in Denmark, as in the other European nations, signs of progress and intellectual awakening; but it is to be noted that the country still remained under the rule of an arbitrary king. As yet there had been only a very imperfect growth toward parliamentary government.

The liberal measures of Prince Frederick were followed by a short period of great prosperity. During the closing decade of the eighteenth century the commerce of Denmark rapidly grew in volume; but the gigantic struggle which Napoleon forced upon Europe soon brought this fortunate period to an end. Denmark was ultimately drawn into the general conflict, and, espousing the cause of the French Emperor, it shared his fortunes. Its capital was bombarded and partially destroyed by an English fleet; its resources were exhausted; and, in 1814, it was obliged to cede Norway to Sweden, after holding it for over four hundred years.

From this impoverished condition the country gradually recovered, after Europe was relieved from Napoleon's disturb-

ing presence. Peace, once restored, brought with it a renewal of prosperity. And it brought, also, a growth in liberal ideas and a demand for additional reforms. The people were no longer satisfied to be without share in the government. Filled with the spirit of progress, quickened by development of literature and science, they were anxious to obtain the full rights of citizenship and to have a voice in managing the affairs of the country, instead of rendering a blind obedience to the dictates of their sovereign. Nor were their desires for reform entirely ungratified. Further changes for the better were made in the law courts, the methods of internal administration were improved, and new life was infused into the educational system. But Frederick VI., who had shown a progressive spirit while ruling in his father's stead, proved to be a stubborn and intractable king. Frowning upon all democratic theories, for many years he refused to make the smallest concessions in the direction of constitutional government. But the French Revolution of 1830 had its influence in Denmark, as it did in Germany and Italy. Startled by this outbreak, King Frederick allowed Consultative Chambers to be established in each one of the four provinces of the kingdom, and thus made the first departure from that absolutism that had hung like a cloud over the country for a hundred and seventy years. True, the Chambers had but little power, for the King could ignore their deliberations; and all their seats were filled by members of the aristocracy. But that even this slight deference should be paid to the will of the people was a political fact of deep significance. It was a prophecy of more radical changes soon to come.

But such changes did not come under the next King, Christian VIII.,[1] who succeeded Frederick VI. in 1839. For Christian, like Frederick, clung jealously to the royal prerogative and refused to loosen his hold upon the reins of power. The affairs of the kingdom he managed with ability. He reformed the finances of the country, showed excellent executive capacity, and tried to check the growth of liberal ideas among his people by showing them that they could be thoroughly well governed under an absolute monarchical rule. But

[1] Christian VIII. was the cousin of Frederick VI., and the grandson of Frederick V.

in this endeavor he was not successful. Good government could not stay the march of ideas. All over Europe the people were clamorous for self-government, and Denmark was swept by a wave of democratic feeling. In that little kingdom the Liberal party was strengthened by the success of the revolutionary movements elsewhere, and was helped, moreover, by the profound and growing interest excited by the Schleswig question. For this duchy, which had long been a source of trouble to the Danish Government, was now assuming a commanding position in the national politics. First separated from Denmark toward the close of the thirteenth century, it had afterward been reconquered, again lost, and finally made a part of the Danish kingdom by the Peace of Frederiksborg, concluded in 1720. But, though thus incorporated with Denmark, it was alienated by the despotic rule of the Danish monarchy. Its people were partly Germans, and they became affected by the German aspirations for unity and freedom. Their disaffection steadily increased as they saw constitutionalism make headway in Germany, while its advance was effectually stopped in Denmark, their own country; and they determined to throw off a rule which they regarded as harsh and oppressive. Even the concessions which were granted them by the Danish Government only made them more clamorous for independence. And as the people of Holstein shared their feelings, a formidable Schleswig-Holstein party was formed; and it assumed an aggressive and threatening attitude. So long as Christian VIII. remained upon the throne, it saw little hope of realizing its ends; but when he was succeeded by his son, Frederick VII., in January, 1848, it felt that its opportunity had come. Its deputies assembled on the 18th of the following March, and voted to demand of the Danish Government that Schleswig-Holstein be recognized as an independent state, with only a nominal allegiance to Denmark, and that Schleswig, like Holstein, be allowed to join the German Confederation.

These demands excited great indignation throughout Denmark, and created a strong national feeling among the Danish people. All eagerly united to resist this insurrectionary movement which threatened the dignity and the unity of the kingdom. At the same time the Liberal cause was strength-

ened by the independent attitude of the Schleswig-Holstein party. For the Liberals realized that the people of Schleswig-Holstein had been estranged by the despotic and unprogressive character of Danish rule, and thus they were furnished with additional reasons for advocating representative institutions. No longer was the Government able to resist their demands. A Constitution was drafted, in 1848, and, on June 5, 1849, it was approved by the Diet and signed by the King. It provided for the creation of a Rigsdag, or National Parliament, of two Houses, — the Landsthing and the Folkething, — and it bestowed the right of suffrage on all burghers of good reputation thirty years old and upwards, excepting those who are without households and are not employed in the public service. The members of the Landsthing are appointed for eight years by electors chosen by the people. Those of the Folkething are elected directly by the voters of the nation. The Rigsdag must be convened every year for at least two months, and no law is valid unless it has been ratified by both its Houses and has received the signature of the King. But, although his signature must be accompanied by that of a responsible minister, the King has the power of absolute veto, and he can dissolve either or both of the Houses of the Rigsdag, provided he convenes a new Parliament within two months. Thus, it appears that the Constitution of 1849 was far from placing sovereign power in the hands of the people. It adopted the institutions of democracy, but it kept the spirit of absolutism. While in England the sovereign is powerless to thwart the people's will, in Denmark the people are wellnigh powerless before the caprice of their sovereign. The triumph of constitutionalism was a very imperfect one, as subsequent events were to prove. It was perhaps as complete as it could have been expected to be after so many years of absolute rule; but it left room for conflicts between the Government and the representatives of the people; and before many years had passed such conflicts arose and absorbed all the political energy of the kingdom.

But for a time the Schleswig-Holstein question put all others in the shade. It did, indeed, excite political controversies and lead to constitutional changes and reforms. For Denmark was anxious to keep its hold upon these two duchies, and was willing to pass such legislation as would conciliate their peoples.

But though it suppressed the insurrection that broke out in Schleswig in 1848, it was prevented by Germany from treating Schleswig as an integral part of Denmark, and giving it the benefit of the new Constitution which had just been granted. So Schleswig continued to be uneasy and disaffected under Danish rule; and Holstein, as a member of the German Confederation, owed Denmark only a partial allegiance. Moreover, King Frederick had no son, and it was probable that the people of Schleswig-Holstein would dispute the right of his successor to count them among his subjects. So menacing, indeed, did this question of succession appear, that the great powers gave it their attention. Prince Frederick of Hesse, nephew of Christian VIII., seemed to be the rightful heir to the throne; but he resigned his rights in favor of his sister, Princess Louise; and her husband, Prince Christian of Glücksburg, was recognized as Frederick's successor by the powers in 1852. The question of succession being thus peacefully settled, it would have been wise for Denmark to keep the whole Schleswig-Holstein matter as quiet as possible. Yet it was difficult to let it alone. King Frederick was anxious to make Schleswig a corporate part of his kingdom; and there were Danish statesmen who, in spite of German interference, were determined that Schleswig-Holstein should be brought under the provisions of a joint Constitution, instead of having a distinct and peculiar status in the monarchy. So, partly to this end, the Constitution of 1849 was considerably modified in 1855 and again in 1863. But, in the end, all efforts to preserve these troublesome duchies proved unavailing. How, upon the death of Frederick VII., they disputed the authority of his successor and were wrested from Denmark by Austria and Prussia has been elsewhere related.[1]

But, in spite of the absorbing nature of the Schleswig-Holstein difficulty, the reign of Frederick was marked by a number of progressive measures. At one time the King surrounded himself with narrow advisers, and in their efforts to carry their political ends the Government seriously interfered with the liberty of the press. But in time these restrictions were entirely removed, and other important reforms were brought about. The administration of justice was greatly improved;

[1] See p. 204.

education was made more general, and its standards were raised; civil marriages were recognized as legal; and the Jews were put on an equality with others before the law. Moreover, the material interests of the country received due attention, for trade and agriculture were encouraged, and railroads and telegraph lines were greatly extended. In spite of the difficulties over Schleswig-Holstein, the reign of Frederick VII. was a prosperous one; and this monarch, who endeavored to abide by the spirit of the Constitution, was sincerely regretted by his people when he died.

His successor assumed the throne as Christian IX. on November 15, 1863. He was a virtuous and estimable man; and his children were reared in such admirable simplicity and possessed such attractive personal qualities that some of them obtained positions of distinction in the courts of Europe. The Princess Alexandra became the Princess of Wales in 1863; Prince Wilhelm was elected King of the Hellenes in 1863; and the Princess Maria Dagmar was married to the heir apparent of Russia, afterward Alexander III., in 1866. But as a constitutional Sovereign Christian IX. has made a dreary failure. In 1866 he did, indeed, sanction the restoration of the Constitution of 1849. That fundamental law was reëstablished, though the method of constituting the Landsthing was materially changed. Twelve of its sixty-six members are now nominated by the King for life, and the remainder are chosen indirectly by electoral bodies, which are appointed by a somewhat complicated system. But though he restored the Constitution, Christian did not interpret it to mean that the people were to have a share in the government. He allied himself with the Conservatives and attempted to rule by means of the Landsthing, which represents the wealth and aristocracy of the kingdom. The Folkething, which represents the common people, he largely ignored, treating it as a mere deliberative body without legislative power. But this attitude of the King and the Government was bitterly opposed by the Liberals. They held that a true system of parliamentary government, giving the people through their representatives an authoritative voice in the management of affairs, was plainly sanctioned by the Constitution, and that the course of the Government was therefore illegal. Moreover, they were thoroughly hostile to

the Government's financial policy; for the Government party wished to devote a large sum annually to maintaining the army and navy and to fortifying Copenhagen, while the Liberals, or the Parliamentary party, deemed such expenditure extravagant and unnecessary. Naturally this condition of affairs occasioned great political disturbance. In 1875 Jacob Estrup became the head of the Cabinet and leader of the Government party, and this man the King sustained in power, in spite of hostile majorities, for nineteen years. In vain did the Liberals in the Folkething unite against him every year and defeat his budget. The Landsthing sustained him, and the King repeatedly dissolved the Folkething, though only to find that a Liberal majority was each time returned by the people. Nor did M. Estrup lack means to carry out his financial schemes, even though the Folkething refused to approve of his budget. By the aid of a clause in the Constitution he raised and expended money after the Rigsdag had dispersed; and so many of his expenditures were reasonable and necessary that the Folkething could not well refuse to sanction them when it came together again.

But this political situation was too strained and unnatural to last indefinitely. In the elections of 1892 the Liberals gained a victory so sweeping that the Conservative Ministry was obliged to retire from office. First securing the passage of certain measures they desired, by promising the Liberals to give the Government into their hands, M. Estrup and his colleagues resigned their offices in 1894. But though the Liberals now came into power, the political currents did not yet run smoothly. It was the moderate Liberals that had made the temporary alliance with their old-time enemies and helped to carry certain conservative measures; the Radicals had disapproved of this course, and it soon appeared that the country was with them. For in the elections of 1895 the Radicals made striking gains and seated 52 members; while 28 Moderates were returned, 24 Conservatives, and 9 Socialists. The Ministry did not retire, however, till May, 1897, when it encountered strong opposition both in the Landsthing and in the Folkething, and gave way to a new Cabinet, which also represented the moderate Liberals. But when the national elections again occurred, in April, 1898, the Radicals made still further gains,

and were now able to command an absolute majority in the Folkething. For in the new House 63 members belonged to their party, 23 to the Moderates, 12 to the Socialists, and 15 only to the Conservatives. The Cabinet, however, did not resign, as it relied upon the support of the Landsthing, where the Conservatives were still in the majority. A new Landsthing was chosen in September of this year, but the situation remained unchanged; for the Conservative members of the Upper House now numbered 43, and the Opposition members only 23. The Ministry, accordingly, still remained in power, but it was not easy to justify the position which the Liberals had now assumed. For many years they had contended that the Ministry should represent the majority in the Lower, or popular, House; but now that the Radicals commanded a majority in the Folkething, the Liberals still clung to power. It would therefore appear that Denmark has yet to learn the full meaning of representative government.

Denmark has a population of about 2,300,000, and an area of 14,775 square miles. The national revenue does not always equal the expenditure; but this fact does not cause uneasiness, for the debt of the country is not large (about $58,000,000 in 1898), and its exports, which consist chiefly of dairy products, are increasing. They are, indeed, of extraordinary excellence, and are such an important source of wealth to the country that an Agricultural Department, under a responsible minister, was established in 1896. The State religion is the Lutheran, but all others are tolerated. Elementary education was made compulsory as early as 1814, and ever since that time has received encouragement from the State. The school age is from seven to fourteen, and the public schools, which are maintained by communal rates, are free to children whose parents cannot afford to pay.

Iceland

Settled by the Vikings in 874, Iceland became a republic in the following century, and for three hundred years had a vigorous and stirring life. By the year 1100 its population had mounted to 50,000, and its literary activity had been so awakened by the introduction of Christianity one hundred years

earlier that it produced the Eddas and Sagas, and thus made a valuable contribution to the world's literature. But the country became weakened by feuds and passed under the control of Norway in the latter part of the thirteenth century; and when Norway was united with Sweden and Denmark in 1389, Iceland, too, became a dependency of the latter power.

Its independence gone, Iceland lost all its energy and vigor, and lapsed into a state of apathy which has lasted almost to the present day. Yet it has maintained its own separate life and its own political institutions. In their secluded island home its people have kept alive the manners, customs, and beliefs of an earlier day, and have been little affected by the eager, strenuous, and restless life of the nineteenth century. While kingdoms have waxed and waned, wars have raged and socialistic clamors have rent the air, these peaceable islanders have pastured their flocks and herds, tilled their lands, and sailed their fishing-boats over smooth and stormy seas. Contented with little, and obtaining that little without effort, they have avoided the extremes of wealth and poverty[1] and have not needed to ponder over the profound social problems of the day. Even the question of education, which has caused so much discussion in other countries, settled itself here without difficulty; for before there was a public school system the children were taught in their own homes, and illiteracy was almost unknown in the island. But of late years the public schools have received a notable development.

But in spite of its remoteness and the tractable character of its population, Iceland has experienced more than one political change during the nineteenth century. In 1800 the old Althing, that famous law-making body which had existed since 930, came to an end, and forty-five years passed before a successor to it was assembled through the sanction of the King of Denmark. When a new Althing was finally appointed, it began to consider the character of the tie that bound Iceland to Denmark, and expressed a desire that the relations between the two countries should be clearly defined. This question, however, Frederick VII., who came to the throne in 1848, was inclined to evade, for he referred it to a constitutive assembly, which was to meet in 1851. But the constitutive

[1] See article on Iceland by James Bryce, *Littell's Living Age*, 121 : 750.

assembly never met. The distracting Schleswig-Holstein question absorbed all of Denmark's energies for a time; and after it was settled provisionally, in 1850, the Danish Government, alarmed by these recent manifestations of discontent, grew averse to making concessions or granting privileges to any of its subjects.

So the people of Iceland could not obtain from Denmark the chartered rights they desired, but none the less they continued to press their claims. Their country had always had its own laws; and every King of Denmark, on coming to the throne, had guaranteed to Iceland that its ancient privileges should be respected. Hence, the people of Iceland were inclined to regard the suzerainty of Denmark as nominal rather than real, and year after year, through the Althing, they preferred a demand for home rule. The leader in the movement was Jon Sigurdson, who showed such tact and moderation that the relations between Denmark and Iceland were not badly strained. For nearly a quarter of a century the yearly request for home rule was made without result, as Frederick VII. would never accede to it, and Christian IX., who ascended the throne in 1863, resisted it for many years. But when the people of Iceland were celebrating the one thousandth anniversary of the colonization of their island by the Norsemen, Denmark granted them autonomy, and the King visited the country in person in honor of the occasion. By the new Constitution which was then obtained, the island is governed by the King of Denmark through a member of his Cabinet, who is responsible to the Althing, and through a Governor whom the King appoints and who is the chief executive officer. The legislative power is vested entirely in the Althing, which consists of two Houses. The Lower House contains twenty-four members elected by a suffrage which is nearly universal; the Upper is composed of six elected members and six who are nominated by the King. But this Constitution, though containing some excellent provisions, did not satisfy the people of Iceland; for they found it inadequate to their political needs. In many respects it reflected the King's aversion to popular government, and, consequently, it failed to inaugurate an era of progress and prosperity. True, there have been various attempts to improve the social and political condition of the island. Education has

been encouraged, economics have received due attention, and women have been so far enfranchised that they now have a voice in the election of the parish clergy. None the less the people of the island have not found their circumstances improving. On the contrary, the conditions of living have grown harder rather than more favorable, and thousands have in recent years abandoned the island, although it could support in comfort a much larger population than it contains. Even the bank, which was established in 1886, proved a hindrance to commercial expansion and prosperity; for, instead of discharging the wonted functions of a bank and promoting financial enterprise, it has only enriched itself by exacting extortionate interest from those who were forced by necessity to borrow.[1]

Altogether the Icelandic people have good reason to be restless under Denmark's rule and to crave entire independence. And there is, indeed, no good reason why, with its isolated position and its peculiar institutions and mode of life, it should not enjoy absolute and untroubled freedom.

Iceland contains a little less than forty thousand square miles, and has a population of about seventy thousand.

[1] *Quarterly Review*, 179 : 58.

CHAPTER IV

SWEDEN AND NORWAY

The Scandinavian Peninsula, unlike the Iberian, contains a natural obstacle to the national unity of its people. For its mountain system, though it presents few clearly defined chains, has yet served to make intercourse difficult and to keep apart those who might have mingled freely in a more level country. Though varying greatly in height, the mountains of Norway and Sweden sometimes rise above eight thousand feet and, with their dense, wide-reaching forests, divide the peninsula in twain. Along the Atlantic stretches a wild and rugged tract of country; while the region that faces the Baltic is not mountainous, but consists largely of low hills covered with the fir tree and the pine.

It is not strange, then, that from ancient times there have been two kingdoms in the Scandinavian Peninsula. In the earliest period of which we have authentic knowledge the peoples of the peninsula seem to have been of Teutonic stock, but in spite of this they did not blend and make one nation. Through the earlier Christian centuries Norway appears to have been divided into petty kingdoms, which were not united until toward the end of the ninth century. But at that time it became one kingdom under Harold Fairhair. About a hundred years later Sweden, whose history before this time is somewhat legendary, found a powerful ruler in Eric, and is said by one chronicler to have gained temporary control over Denmark. Thus the two kingdoms make their appearance upon the field of authentic history strong, separate, and independent.

And separate they remained for the most part through the centuries that followed. In 1387–89 they both passed under the sway of that remarkable woman, Margaret of Denmark, and

thus the three kingdoms were united. From this union, which meant that the whole Scandinavian Peninsula was subject to the tyrannous rule of Denmark, Sweden was released by Gustavus Vasa in 1523. And from that year until 1814 Sweden and Norway again pursued their separate destinies.

Sweden

Released from the Danish tyranny, Sweden had for a time a great and splendid career. The genius of Gustavus Adolphus rendered her one of the strongest military powers of Europe, and enabled her to play a decisive part in the politics of the period. This position she kept through the reign of the brilliant but erratic monarch, Charles XII.; but after his death, in 1718, her decline was rapid. She suffered from the consequences of Charles's wars, during which the nobles had obtained control of the Diet and taken to themselves the prerogatives of the crown.

Moreover, removed as she was from Central Europe, Sweden could not keep her prestige after Russia and Prussia became great and prominent. So for fifty years after the death of Charles XII. Sweden remained feeble and inert. Her statesmen were weak and incompetent, her foreign territory was wrested from her, her selfish aristocracy only wasted her strength. But their rule was broken by Gustavus III., who came to the throne in 1771. A man of ability and decision, he gained the support of the military and arrested the members of the Council of State. Then, summoning the Diet, he induced it to adopt a new Constitution, which vested the executive power solely in the King. The supremacy of the aristocracy being thus destroyed, Gustavus endeavored to rouse the kingdom from its lethargy. He encouraged trade and agriculture, fostered art and learning, and strengthened the army and navy with a view to winning back Sweden's military renown. So entirely was he misled by this ambition, that he entered upon a disastrous war with Russia, from which he was obliged to withdraw without having accomplished anything besides proving the loyalty of his subjects.

But, reformer though he was, Gustavus was no friend of those democratic principles which were spreading over Europe.

Ruling his own kingdom like an autocrat, he viewed all infringement upon the royal prerogative with concern. For Louis XVI. of France he felt profound sympathy, and could he have carried the Diet with him he would have formed an alliance to reseat that unfortunate monarch upon his throne. But the worst excesses of the French Revolution he did not live to see. He was assassinated by one of his nobles in 1792, before Louis was executed and the Reign of Terror had begun.

His son, Gustavus IV., who came to his majority in 1796, had his father's independence of character without his father's greatness. Hence, Sweden was in a most unfortunate condition at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Her feudal Constitution granted but few rights to the people. Her nobles were sullenly bent upon regaining their lost supremacy. Upon her throne sat a headstrong and self-willed monarch, whose folly made the royal prerogative a menace to the kingdom. For Gustavus refused to hold aloof from the great struggle that was convulsing Europe. By his meddlesome policy he embroiled Sweden first with France and finally with Russia and Denmark; lost the Pomeranian stronghold, Stralsund, and the island of Rugen; and brought the kingdom into a position of extreme humiliation. And, finally, when Finland was overrun by Russian troops and seemed likely to pass out of Sweden's possession, the feeling against him became so strong that he was deposed, in 1809, and his posterity was debarred from the throne.

The Duke of Södermanland (Sudermania), an uncle of Gustavus IV., had been regent during the latter's minority. Coming now to the throne as Charles XIII., he tried to bring the affairs of the distracted country into order. But his success was not signal. Dull and obstinate though Gustavus was, he was yet simple in his habits, conscientious, and high-minded; his successor was a selfish old man, governed by favorites, and suspected of being privy to more than one unprincipled intrigue.[1] During his short reign he was little more than a figurehead, and the most important things that he did were done rather through the force of circumstances than through his own initiative. He ceded Finland to Russia, as it was

[1] His character is described in Laing's "A Tour in Sweden in 1838," pp. 382–389.

impossible to save it to Sweden; and though the Swedes have always grieved sorely over this lost territory,[1] it may be questioned whether they have not been better off without Finland than with it.[2] Peace was also made with France and Denmark, and some important changes were made in the Constitution.

The Swedes were not inclined to open rebellion, like many of the continental races; none the less they were eager to obtain a fuller share in the government. Even here, where deference to authority was as great as it was in England, the voices of the French Revolution raised an echo. Ever since 1435, when the patriot Engelbrekt summoned a Riksdag, the four estates of the nobles, the clergy, the burghers, and the peasants, had been consulted in the management of affairs; but it was the king and the noble who really ruled. This condition of things the burghers and peasants wished to bring to an end. For the peace of the kingdom they wished it; for, so long as they were set aside, the kings and the aristocracy were sure to contend for the supremacy. So they asked that they might be more fully represented in the Diet, and that the Diet should have those privileges that properly belong to a legislative body, including control over taxation. And these constitutional reforms were granted by Charles XIII.

Quite as important as these changes was the union of Norway with Sweden under the same sovereign. But as this event will be more fully treated in the sketch of Norway, it is only mentioned here. It was in 1814 that Charles XIII. was proclaimed King of Sweden and Norway. Four years later he died without issue, and the throne passed from the House of Holstein-Gottorp, which had ruled over Sweden since 1751, and at the same time from the descendants of Gustavus Vasa.

But this contingency had been duly provided for. Soon

[1] For an incident that illustrates this feeling, see Mrs. Baker's "Pictures of Swedish Life," p. 392.

[2] "Finland stood, with regard to Sweden, in the same relation as Normandy did of old to England. Separated by the sea, inhabited by a Sclavonic race, more allied in language and manners to the Russian than to the Swedish people, and extending to the very gates, it may be said, of the capital of a country of forty millions of inhabitants, could such a province be held by a distant nation of three millions? Was there any real advantage from a possession which kept the nation under arms, even in profound peace, to maintain it, requiring an unremitting military exertion incompatible with her industry and prosperity?" — Laing's "A Tour in Sweden in 1838," p. 386.

after Charles XIII. came to the throne he was temporarily stricken with apoplexy; and this indication of physical feebleness made it necessary to look for an heir to the throne. The choice fell upon the Regent of Norway, Christian Augustus, who was connected with the reigning house of Denmark. This excellent prince came to Sweden and was warmly welcomed by its people; but in the spring of 1810 he was killed by a fall from his horse while attending a military review. A successor was found in Jean Bernadotte, one of Napoleon's most distinguished marshals. Consenting to become the heir apparent, Bernadotte went to Sweden with his family in 1810 and at once began to play an important part in the administration of affairs. Finding Charles XIII. weak and undecided, he shaped his own policy and carried out his own plan of action. In making peace with France, Charles had practically delivered Sweden into the hands of the Emperor. From this condition Bernadotte freed her by joining the alliance which finally succeeded in securing Napoleon's overthrow. In 1818 Charles XIII. died, and Bernadotte, who took the title of Charles XIV., was elevated to the throne. The bestowal of royalty upon a man who is not of royal birth is always an experiment, for a king so created is sure to encounter prejudice and unreasoning criticism; but in this case the experiment was a successful one. Charles XIV. never made himself thoroughly popular with his subjects, but he aroused no active opposition, and he ruled the country firmly and efficiently for nearly thirty years. During his reign Sweden made great material progress, for he promoted the welfare of his subjects in all ways that were consistent with his conceptions of the royal prerogative. He encouraged the construction of railways and canals, brought new tracts under cultivation, established factories, and founded industrial and technical schools. But, fond of the arbitrary exercise of power, he did not give his support to the cause of constitutional reform. Already the nation had become dissatisfied with the changes granted by Charles XIII. The leaders of public opinion demanded that the Government should be made more directly responsible to the people; and in 1840 the Diet seriously considered the feasibility of this constitutional change. Probably the change would have been effected if the King had given it his hearty support. But

failing to find sufficiently influential champions, the reform was not brought about.

Nor did it meet with any better success in the reign of Oscar I., who succeeded his father in 1844. The new King was a progressive and liberal-minded ruler, and under him the country's material interests were duly cared for. Imports and exports were tripled, telegraph lines were extended, railroads were built by the State, and the affairs of the kingdom were managed with greater economy and system. The laws, too, were revised and much improved, the penal code being mitigated, and sisters being allowed to inherit on equal terms with their brothers. Yet, in spite of material progress and liberal legislation, the Constitution remained unchanged. In the early years of the reign the scheme of reform that was considered in 1840 was again brought forward; but, though acceptable to the burghers and the peasants, it was thrown out by the other two estates. Later on another scheme was prepared, largely as a result of the revolution in France in 1848. But now it was the peasants that deserted the cause of reform. Their representatives in the Diet made common cause with those of the nobles and the clergy, and again it proved impossible to effect the desired constitutional change.

But in 1859 there came to the throne a King who gave effectual support to the cause of constitutional reform. Charles XV. possessed his father's liberal sympathies, together with an extremely winning and gracious personality. Admirably maintaining the royal dignity, he yet made himself loved in all the households in the land by his simple and genial ways. So devotedly were his people attached to him that they became enthusiastic supporters of his line, and the descendants of Gustavus Vasa seemed to lose all prospects of becoming established on the throne. Under such a king it became easy to effect those changes in the governmental system which had been so long desired. In 1866 it was decided that the Diet, or Parliament, should consist of a First Chamber, whose members are indirectly elected for nine years, and a Second Chamber, whose members are chosen for three years by natives of Sweden who are twenty-one years old and who possess a small property qualification. The Diet has the sole right of imposing taxes, and it is understood that if the Cabinet and the Diet

are at variance, the members of the Cabinet shall resign. The King can at will dissolve the Diet and order a new election. He has also the right to conclude foreign treaties, to preside in the Supreme Court of Justice, and to declare war and make peace after consulting with the Cabinet or Council of State.

This Constitution, it will be seen, still retains some trace of feudalism, in that it vests extraordinary powers in the King. But it proved liberal enough to satisfy the Swedish people; for since its adoption there have been no further demands for constitutional reforms. Under its provisions Charles XV. ruled over a happy and united people till his death, which occurred in 1872; and his son, Oscar II., who succeeded him, has had an equally harmonious and prosperous reign so far as his Swedish subjects have been concerned. The political disturbances which have given him much trouble and anxiety have arisen from the restlessness of Norway under the Union of 1814.

Sweden ranks among the largest European countries, her area being 172,000 square miles, while that of Germany is 208,000 and that of France 204,000. But her population is only 5,000,000, and not for a long time is the country likely to be densely settled. Nearly half of it is covered with forests, and some of its fertile plains are too far north to be successfully tilled. A considerable portion of the soil, moreover, is not richly productive. Agriculture, dairying, timber-raising, and mining are the chief occupations of the people. Financially, the kingdom is prosperous, its debt being but $80,000,000. It supports a standing army of about 30,000 men and has an inconsiderable navy.

Norway

No Gustavus Vasa appeared in Norway to deliver her from the rule of Denmark; and, with the exception of a brief period of independence in the middle of the fifteenth century, she remained a subject province for over four hundred years. But the spirit of nationality did not die out during that long term of subjection. In 1814 Norway found an opportunity to assert her independence, and of this opportunity she eagerly

availed herself. Frederick VI. was King of Denmark at this time, and by aiding France he antagonized Russia and Great Britain, while Bernadotte made common cause with these powers against Napoleon (p. 240) and secured their good-will. For a time, indeed, Bernadotte's sincerity was distrusted by the allies, for he seemed inclined to let them do all the fighting and to consult merely for his own advantage. But after the battle of Leipsic in 1813, he took an active part in the campaigns against France, and in the Treaty of Kiel he reaped the reward of his somewhat tardy services. For by the terms of this treaty, which was made between Great Britain, Sweden, and Denmark on January 14, 1814, Norway was taken from Denmark and given to Sweden.

But Norway objected stoutly to this change of masters. She was glad to be delivered from Denmark, but she had no mind to become a part of the Swedish kingdom. As Frederick VII., the hereditary Sovereign, had released the country from its allegiance, the people claimed the right to choose their own king. A portion of them, indeed, would have chosen Charles XIII. of Sweden, believing that a union with the neighboring kingdom was desirable, as it would protect Norway from the invasion of ambitious foreign powers that coveted her territory. But the majority of the people were in favor of entire independence; and this sentiment was the prevailing one in the Diet which met at Eidsvold in the spring of 1814. The members of the Diet, after full deliberation, adopted a Constitution which was extremely liberal in character, declared Norway to be free and independent, and bestowed the crown upon Prince Christian Frederick, who had been ruling the country as the Viceroy of Denmark.

This bold and resolute stand was highly patriotic, but naturally it brought on a conflict with Sweden. For a short time Bernadotte's hands were tied by the struggle with Napoleon; but before the summer of 1814 was over he appeared in Norway at the head of a Swedish army. But he encountered a more obstinate resistance than he had anticipated. Prince Frederick proved, indeed, a weak and irresolute leader, as he feared to give battle to the invading forces; but the Norwegians themselves were full of spirit, and they defeated the Swedes in two engagements, which, though by no means deci-

sive, at least showed the stubborn temper of the country. It was apparent that Norway could not be subdued without a long and bitter conflict. But such a conflict the Swedes, as well as the Norwegians, wished to avoid. Accordingly, hostilities were suspended in order that an amicable agreement between the two kingdoms might be arranged. And as both peoples were ready to make concessions, the conditions of a permanent union were settled without serious difficulty. On November 4, 1814, Charles XIII. was proclaimed King of Norway by the national Storthing, or Diet, on condition that he recognized Norway as a separate and independent kingdom, entitled to its own Constitution. This condition was accepted for Charles by Bernadotte, and the two kingdoms were thus united under one crown. In the following year their position with respect to each other was more clearly defined by the Rigsakt, or Act of Union, which was adopted by both countries. By the terms of the Rigsakt the absolute independence of each country is fully established.[1]

This adjustment of the relations between the two kingdoms would seem to have been a natural and fitting one. Adjacent as they are, occupying the whole of the same peninsula, and inhabited by kindred peoples, Norway and Sweden have much to draw them together. Yet it must be remembered that the two countries are unlike in their natural features (p. 236), and have developed dissimilar traits in their respective peoples. Norway was the Viking's home. Looking out upon the boisterous Atlantic, she has nurtured a race of sea-rovers and hardy, fearless men. Her wild shores, her rugged mountains, and her bracing air have fostered her independence and the rude, manly virtues. The Norwegians have never been respecters of persons. In the Middle Ages, when their government was in form an absolute monarchy, they yet maintained democratic institutions; and though there grew up an aristocracy, it became merged in the peasantry as the royal power declined and the country became a dependency of Denmark.[2]

[1] "The Norwegian-Swedish Conflict," by H. L. Braekstad, in the *Fortnightly Review* for January, 1898.

[2] Boyesen's "Story of Norway," p. 448. Keary's "Norway and the Norwegians," p. 300.

But however sturdy and democratic was the spirit which Norway bred among her people, her contributions to progress and civilization were not great. Separated from continental Europe and deprived of her independence, Norway exercised no influence upon the course of European politics. She produced no kings like Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII. Her armies did not wrest victory from the strongest nations. Her statesmen did not alter the current of events. Her scholars did not guide and quicken human thought. Norway was simply a land of plain living, honest thinking, and courageous deeds.

But Sweden had filled a much larger place in European history. She was proud, and justly proud, of her heroic achievements, and she could not easily recognize in Norway a kingdom of equal power and greatness to her own. Among her kings were some of the world's greatest men. Her nobility was ancient, polished, and cultivated. Her scholars and men of science numbered men of world-wide reputation. Her schools and universities were of first-rate excellence, and her history had been both great and brilliant. More than once Sweden had fought with Russia single-handed, and it was her invincible army that turned the course of the Thirty Years' War and saved the Protestant cause in Germany. Altogether, Sweden had good cause to consider herself the leading and more important member of the union formed with Norway under Charles XIII. Her history was much greater, her population twice as numerous, and her civilization riper and more complete.

But this superiority Norway has never been willing to admit. Having entered into the Union on terms of entire equality, she has always resented the leadership which Sweden has been inclined to assume. Hence, trouble arose between the two kingdoms soon after the Union was formed, and time has not diminished the dissension between the two powers. It may be questioned, indeed, whether such a Union between two kingdoms ever proves entirely satisfactory to both members of it. Theoretically the two are entirely equal; practically they are not. In some of the functions of government one state or the other must lead, as the recent history of Austria-Hungary well illustrates (p. 151). It seems necessary that there should be a common foreign policy, and this policy the larger

and stronger country desires to shape and dictate. The armies of the two countries could not well take the field together unless there were a common military language. Moreover, the sovereign of the two kingdoms is apt to be especially identified with the one which has had the greater and more splendid career. We think of Francis Joseph as an Austrian rather than a Hungarian. We think of Oscar II. as a Swede rather than a Norwegian; for it was Sweden that endowed the founder of his line with royal power, and it is in Sweden rather than in the sister kingdom that he finds the more congenial home. He knows that his Swedish subjects are contented under his rule, while those of Norway are ever clamorous for rights which they do not easily obtain.

It was not strange, then, that Norway learned in the course of time to be jealous of the larger and more powerful member of the Union. For, though in some ways her rights as an independent kingdom were strictly guarded, in others they were neglected or set aside. In case of the throne becoming vacant, Norway has an equal voice with Sweden in the choice of a new king; for, by the provision of the Act of Union, the Diets of the two countries are to meet together, if such a contingency occurs, and appoint a sovereign. If they fail to agree upon one, the choice is to be made by an equal number of Swedish and Norwegian deputies who meet at Karlstad in Sweden, and from their nomination there is no appeal. Nor can Norway complain that she is not sufficiently consulted in the management of the joint affairs of the two kingdoms. Of the ten ministers that form her Council of State, three are chosen to reside at Stockholm, the Swedish capital, and to sit with the King and the Swedish Council of State whenever business that concerns both countries is transacted. Again, the King cannot declare war without first obtaining the opinion of the Norwegian Council of State as to the project, and getting from it a statement as to Norway's military resources and power to withstand attack.

But in spite of these safeguards of Norway's equality in the Union, she has still found reason to resent Sweden's assumption of authority and leadership. In particular, she resists the control which Sweden exercises over foreign appointments and foreign affairs. For only Swedish consuls are sent to the

cities of other countries; and while the Swedish Council of State contains a Minister of Foreign Affairs, that of Norway has none. This was an arrangement that was made in the early years of the Union, when Norway had few dealings with other nations, and it did not then excite her criticism or resentment. As her commerce has increased, she has chafed under the arrangement and has demanded that it be changed. During recent years this demand has grown very strong and persistent, and has become the cardinal feature of Norwegian politics. The Norwegians insist that their country, as well as Sweden, shall have foreign consuls. This reform accomplished, they expect to have their own Minister of Foreign Affairs and to see a joint Foreign Ministry for the two kingdoms also established. Moreover, they have been disturbed because Norway had had no royal standard, but only a merchant flag; and in 1896 the Odelsthing passed a bill providing for the creation of a separate standard.

The appointment of separate foreign consuls would not only be greeted by Norway as an act of justice, but would do much toward removing those apprehensions which have been excited throughout Norway by Sweden's superior power and menacing attitude. For some Swedes would gladly see Norway become nothing better than a subject province; and in furtherance of this ambition they have tried to influence the King against Norway's claims, and have even proposed that the Norwegians be compelled by force to revise their Constitution and give the King an absolute veto over the legislation of the Norwegian Diet.[1] Naturally the Norwegians have been extremely sensitive over these proposals. Remote as is the possibility that a Swedish army would invade their territory, they have yet been excited by every rumor that such a resort to force was contemplated. The intensity of their feeling on this burning question was shown by a peculiar resolution passed by the Storthing in 1894. For the Crown Prince having been reported as saying that Norway might be invaded by Sweden, the Storthing voted to withhold the sum annually contributed to his support by Norway until this report should be denied. The Crown Prince himself refused to make any statement whatever about the matter; but the remarks attributed to him were finally denied

[1] The *Fortnightly Review*, January, 1898, p. 99.

by the Prime Minister, and the usual contribution was then made. Whether the feeling revealed by this incident can be eradicated is doubtful; but the Union between the two countries certainly seems more stable than that of Austria and Hungary.

While the Constitution of Sweden still retains traces of feudalism, that of Norway is extremely democratic. The King with his Council of State forms the executive and is at the head of the army and navy. He makes all appointments, and he has a temporary right of veto; but any bill that is passed by three Storthings separately and subsequently elected, becomes a law in spite of his disapproval. The legislative power is vested in a Storthing of 114 members indirectly chosen by a restricted suffrage. This body meets annually, and for business purposes is divided into the Odelsthing, which comprises one fourth of the members, and the Lagthing, which is composed of the remainder. All new measures must receive consideration in the Odelsthing first and then be submitted to the Lagthing. If the two bodies do not agree, they meet in common, and a law which is passed by a two-thirds vote in this joint session becomes valid. The members of the Storthing are elected for three years. Agriculture, forestry, fishing, and manufacturing form the chief occupations of the Norwegian people. The population of the country is about 2,000,000, and its area 124,495 square miles. Its commerce is slowly increasing.

CHAPTER V

SWITZERLAND

The Swiss Confederation was of German origin. In 1291 the men of Uri, Schwyz, and lower Unterwalden formed a perpetual league, which was at first purely defensive in character. They were subjects of the House of Hapsburg, and they did not design to throw off their allegiance to the Emperor; but, being submitted to the despotic treatment of bailiffs who robbed and plundered them without mercy, they united to protect themselves from violence and their property from spoliation. These three districts, which founded the league, were called the Forest States. Gradually they were joined by other German districts; and as the Confederation grew in strength, its connection with the Empire became weak, and was finally abolished by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

But, although formed originally to resist oppression, the Confederation did not become the home of freedom. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was little better than a dependency of France, and it was largely dominated by an aristocracy.[1] In the Forest Cantons, where the power was exercised by the Landsgemeinden, or general assemblies, the people kept the government in their own hands; but the general tendency of the Cantons was toward oligarchical rule. A few families monopolized all the rights and privileges of citi-

[1] In Bern and "in Luzern, Freiburg and Solothurn, certain families had obtained permanent rule, to the exclusion from power of the mass of the people. These four were the aristocratic Cantons. Zurich, Basel, and Schaffhausen were semi-aristocratic, the burghers having a share in the elections, from which the country people were excluded. The remaining six states out of the thirteen then forming the Confederation were democratic, ruling themselves in the Landsgemeinden." — Adams and Cunningham's "Swiss Confederation," p. 11.

zenship, controlled public offices, and frowned upon all democratic movements and opinions. Among these families there was much elegance of living and a keen appreciation of literary and intellectual pursuits; but popular education was discouraged, and the peasants remained ignorant, unenlightened, and apathetic. Hence, the Confederation grew weaker rather than stronger, and its condition in the eighteenth century has been aptly likened to that of a "weather-beaten ruin, ready to fall."[1]

It was well, then, that the echoes of the French Revolution found their way across the Alps, and awakened a feeling for liberty among the oppressed Swiss peasantry. Not, indeed, that this awakening was due solely to the uprising of the French in 1789. As early as 1762 a small number of zealous Swiss patriots founded the Helvetic Society, whose aim was to heal religious dissension and to bring all parts of Switzerland into closer and more friendly relations with each other. By the efforts of this society a longing for union and independence was created in the minds of the Swiss people, and the French Revolution found the country open to the spread of liberal ideas. In 1790 the Helvetian Club was formed at Paris by a few Swiss who were living in exile there; and through its activity the peasantry in the western part of the Confederation were led to rise against their rulers. At first not very much was accomplished by these insurrections, for the aristocratic governments were usually strong enough to hold the people in subjection by armed force. But after a time the attention of the French Directory was attracted by these revolutionary movements, and French troops were sent into the Cantons to further the cause of popular liberty. Although fiercely opposed, the French bore down all opposition, and with their triumph the ancient Swiss Confederation came to an end. It had never attained to constitutional strength and dignity; for while it lasted there had never been a federal Constitution, and the Cantons had been bound by no stronger tie than that of the alliances they had formed among themselves. Nor did the Diet, its central governing body, possess those powers which command respect and win obedience. The downfall of the Confederation, then, was not a misfortune. The organiza-

[1] Dändliker's "Short History of Switzerland," p. 193.

tion had outlived its usefulness and was fittingly set aside for a more perfect union.

But perfect union did not at once rise from its ruins. In its place was established, through the influence of the Directory, the Helvetic Republic, which was accepted by ten of the thirteen members of the old Confederation, a Constitution being adopted at the same time. But the new scheme of government proved to be a faulty one. If the Confederation had left too much power to the individual Cantons, the Republic erred in taking their sovereignty away. More and more unpopular did the government grow, as the Cantons realized how much their freedom had been curtailed; and the French, who had been welcomed as liberators, were soon denounced as tyrants. For the Directory controlled the government of the Republic; and its soldiers even put down by force all rebellious movements on the part of the Cantons.

It was with relief, therefore, that the Swiss people learned of the overthrow of the Directory and of the establishment of the Consulate, with Napoleon at its head. No longer supported by French bayonets, the Helvetic Government found difficulty in maintaining itself; and when Bonaparte withdrew the French troops from Swiss territory, in 1802, its downfall seemed near at hand. It was not indeed without friends. A considerable portion of the people, who were in favor of a strong central government, and who were termed the "unitary party" because they were devoted to the cause of national union, upheld the Republic. But the Federalists, who believed above all things in Cantonal independence, proved stronger than the Unitarians and began to drive the Government to the wall. To quiet these dissensions Bonaparte summoned a number of the political leaders of the country to a conference at Paris; and, after considering with them the difficulties of the existing situation, he laid before them an Act of Mediation which he had himself in great measure composed, and which he thought adapted to the existing needs of the Swiss people.

But Bonaparte was too selfish to consider chiefly and solely the interests of the Cantons. The Act of Mediation performed an important use; for under the Government which it established the country enjoyed eleven years of peace and was

largely freed from political dissensions. But it was a compromise between new and old ideas of government rather than a scientific attempt to solve difficult constitutional questions and secure national union and progress. Moreover, the Act of Mediation gave France a strong hold upon the Cantons, Bonaparte being determined to profit as much as possible from the troubles and weaknesses of the Swiss people. The important features of the Act were that six new Cantons were added to the thirteen old ones; the Diet, whose delegates did not express the will of the people, but were directed and controlled by the Cantonal Governments, was reëstablished; all who refused to obey the decisions of the Diet were to suffer penalty; Freiburg (Freibourg), Bern (Berne), Solothurn (Soleure), Basel, Zürich, and Luzern (Lucerne) were constituted capital seats of Government, and the Diet was required to meet in each of these Cantons for a year in due order of rotation; the mayor of the Canton in which the Diet held its sittings was by virtue of his office made Landamman, or chief executive, of the Government; subject lands[1] and all privileges of family, birth, or nobility were abolished, though the rights of the people and liberty of the press were not secured; popular assemblies were restored in the democratic Cantons, but in the others the Government was preserved to the aristocracy and a property qualification was required both of voters and candidates.

Even from this meagre outline it may be seen that the Act of Mediation was what its name implied. It was a middle course, an attempt to conciliate elements that could not be harmoniously blended. Disintegration was prevented, but union was not secured; obedience to the Diet was exacted, but the central Government did not receive adequate powers; aristocracy was rebuked, but the principles of democracy were not fairly recognized. Hence, in spite of its many excellent features, the Act of Mediation did not outlast Napoleon's own period of supremacy. Soon after his defeat at Leipsic the

[1] The subject lands, which caused much dispute and angry feeling among the Cantons until they were abolished by the Congress of Vienna, were acquired in the period when boundaries were not definitely settled and the stronger Cantons were endeavoring to enlarge their territory by conquest. Bern, in particular, greatly extended its domains in this way. Consult Freeman's "Historical Geography of Europe," p. 281.

forces of the allies crossed the Swiss frontier, and, largely through Austrian influence, the Diet was induced to abolish the Act of Mediation just before the end of December, 1813. But now the old differences showed themselves afresh. The friends and the enemies of a strongly centralized government quarrelled fiercely, and a considerable party desired to do away with the six newly constituted Cantons and entirely restore the old order of things. Accordingly, the Congress of Vienna was obliged to settle some of the disputed questions and make such territorial changes as seemed necessary. It recognized the independence and neutrality of Switzerland on condition that the new Cantons should be maintained; and, on March 20, 1815, it raised the total number of the Cantons to twenty-two, by adding to those already existing Wallis (the Valais), which from mediæval times to 1798 had been a Republic in alliance with the Confederation; Neuenburg (Neuchâtel), which, once subject to Prussia, had been given to Marshal Berthier by Napoleon; and Genf (Genève), which had been annexed to France in 1798, but was now independent. But the Valtelline district in the Rhætian Alps, Chiavenna, a town which, formerly belonging to the Grisons, was made a part of the Cisalpine Republic in 1797, and Worms were assigned by the Congress to Austria; and Mülhausen, which was recognized as an independent ally of the Swiss Confederation by the Peace of Westphalia, but which sought incorporation with France in 1798 for commercial reasons, was not restored to the Cantons.

While these territorial questions were being settled by the Congress of Vienna, the Diet of the Confederation sat at Zürich, and drew up a new Constitution which was termed the "Federal Pact." Approved by the Congress of Vienna, it was sworn to on August 7, 1815, by all the Cantons except Nidwald (Lower Unterwalden), which only accepted it under compulsion. But the Federal Pact did not prove to be an improvement upon the Act of Mediation. It secured the sovereignty of the Cantons without strengthening the central authority, and thus made Switzerland into a loose confederation, the members of which acted in concert only in matters of foreign policy and to maintain order in the interior. Subject lands were not allowed, and no class of citizens was permitted

to monopolize political rights; but free trade between the Cantons was not recognized, the rights of citizenship were not clearly defined, nor was it expressly stated that the people were at liberty to reside in whatever Canton they preferred.

Naturally the country was restless and dissatisfied under such an imperfect bond of union. In 1819 the Helvetic Society formed itself into a political association, renounced all sympathy with aristocratic principles, and devoted itself to the work of national reforms. Various scientific and patriotic organizations also disseminated liberal ideas; while the press espoused the cause of national unity and popular government.

Thus the movement toward democracy and more perfect federation grew increasingly strong, although it roused persistent and bitter opposition. The Cantons had been left free by the Federal Pact to shape their own Constitutions; and this freedom had in many cases been used by the aristocracy to withhold political privileges from the common people. Accordingly, the ruling class, which was centred in the cities, resisted innovations, and the Catholic Church used its influence against political change. The Jesuits were particularly active in stifling reform movements and obstructing the free development of liberal ideas. But the tides that set toward progress could not be stemmed nor stayed. Largely through the work of the Helvetic Society the more progressive Cantons began to revise their Constitutions; and when the uprising in Paris occurred in 1830, this movement was greatly accelerated. The conflict between the Liberals and Conservatives was especially fierce at Zürich, where Dr. Ludwig Snell exerted a powerful influence in favor of reform. He advocated equal rights for all, the sovereignty of the people, and popular education; and so ably did he lead the party of progress that Zürich adopted a Constitution embodying his ideas.

Elated by this triumph, the Liberals renewed their efforts all over Switzerland; and in most of the Cantons they carried through important constitutional changes, by which the liberty of the press, the right of assembly and the right of petition, free trade, and free choice of residence were guaranteed. Moreover, these changes were not considered final, but provision was made that the Constitutions should be revised at

stated intervals, in order that the growth of the people in liberal thought might find its due expression.

But religious warfare was destined to interfere with political progress. Some of the most distinguished leaders of the liberal movement were sceptics and free-thinkers in religious matters; and the Catholic Church, accordingly, was hostile toward their schemes for national regeneration. Indeed, the Church exercised so strong a reactionary influence, that the feeling between the Catholics and Protestants in Switzerland was almost as bitter as it was in the period of the Reformation.[1] Only a trivial cause was needed to bring about an open conflict; and this cause was supplied, when, in 1840, the Radicals in Argau proved to be in a popular majority. Unwilling to be dominated by free-thinkers, the Clericals excited a revolt; and when the revolt was suppressed, the Radicals retorted by voting to do away with the eight monasteries in the Canton. As this proceeding was in violation of the Pact of 1815, the seven Catholic Cantons — Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Luzern (Lucerne), Zug, Freiburg (Freibourg), and Wallis (Valais) — took alarm, and, in 1843, formed a league, called the Sonderbund, for mutual protection and defence. As this bold move did not call forth any protest from the Diet, the Sonderbund became aggressive; and, in December, 1845, it declared itself ready to take up arms in defence of the constitutional rights of the Cantons. But this resort to violence ended in disaster. For the Radicals finally carried a sufficient number of Cantons to control the Diet; and, on July 20, 1847, that body pronounced the Sonderbund contrary to the Federal Pact, and on the 3d of the following September it invited each Canton to expel the Jesuits. As this invitation met with no response, the Diet voted, on November 4, to carry out its decree by force of arms. From such an excited state of feeling a bloody war might easily have resulted; but the genius of Dufour, who conducted the campaign for the Diet, soon brought resistance to an end with small loss of life. One after another the rebellious Cantons submitted to the authority of the Diet, till the whole country was pacified.[2]

[1] For the conflict between the Church and the State, consult A. Morin's "Précis de l'Histoire Politique de la Suisse," V. 149 *et seq.*

[2] For the excellent work done by Dufour, see Morin's "Précis," III. 26–42.

But the period of war and dissension had taught its own lessons. The movement for reform had made so much headway that the Cantons were determined to do away with the Pact of 1815, which was so manifestly inadequate to the political needs of the country. Accordingly, a new Constitution was drafted, by direction of the Diet, in 1848, and as it was accepted in the summer of that year by fifteen and a half Cantons, it was proclaimed on September 12. Although it did not embody all the principles that were advocated by the Liberals of the country, it was a better instrument than any that had been composed before; and under the government which it established the country progressed quietly and peaceably for many years. Political strife did not disappear, but it was no longer characterized by the acrimony and violence that had formerly prevailed. There was now a general feeling that, although further changes were necessary, they would come of themselves in a slow and orderly way; and that neither the Radicals nor the Reactionaries needed to keep the whole country disturbed by their heated and vehement controversies.

Not until 1874, therefore, was the Constitution made over and improved; and even then its most important features were retained. The new document, which was accepted by 14 Cantons against 7 and by a popular vote of 340,199 against 198,013, was, indeed, the old one revised and amended as the experiences of twenty-five years suggested and made necessary. The rights of the people were now more securely guarded, and the powers of the central Government were somewhat increased. In other respects the new Constitution was like the old. It provided for two parliamentary bodies, a State Council and a National Council. The members of the first number forty-four, each Canton choosing two in whatever manner it may prefer. The members of the National Council are elected directly by the people, in the proportion of one representative for every 20,000 inhabitants. The members of each Council are chosen for three years, and the suffrage belongs to all who have reached the age of twenty. But although the rights of citizenship are thus bestowed upon thoroughly democratic principles, the people have no voice in the choice of a chief executive. For the two Houses have not only legislative, but also executive, authority. Sitting together they compose the Federal

Assembly; and upon this Assembly devolves the task of choosing a Federal Council of seven members, and electing its President and Vice-President. These officials serve for one year only and are the chief magistrates of the country. They cannot be reëlected for the ensuing year; but usually the Vice-President is chosen to succeed the outgoing President. But although the President is the head of the nation's executive department, his powers are sharply limited, and his responsibilities are fully shared by the Federal Council, which has more important functions than those of a Cabinet. It is expected to manage foreign affairs, maintain tranquillity and order throughout the country, administer the finances, prepare the budget, and render an account of receipts and expenditures. It also sends messages to the Assembly upon all subjects which it considers worthy of special attention. Intrusted with these grave duties, it is not allowed to become a mere party organ, for its members do not solely represent the majority in the Assembly. When, for example, the Liberals are in control of affairs, Conservatives and Clericals are found sitting in the Federal Council; and any member of the Council who proves to be able and efficient almost invariably retains his position for a number of years.

Considering the character and extent of its responsibilities, the Council might with propriety be intrusted with the power to enforce the laws and compel obedience; but its ultimate authority is weak. Should any Canton adopt an unconstitutional measure, the Council could not compel it to revoke the measure by an armed force. It could go no farther than to quarter troops upon the refractory Canton and thus force it to submit to a heavy expense so long as its rebellious mood continued. But this method of securing obedience usually proves effective. The Cantons prefer submission to a continuous financial drain.

But the most notable and distinctive feature of the Swiss Constitution is the Referendum. This peculiar institution was known and practised in a rudimentary form before the old Swiss Confederation came to an end; for in some of the Cantons which had no Landsgemeinden, or popular assemblies, the Governments consulted the people from time to time upon matters of importance. In 1831 the Canton of Saint Gallen

(Saint Gall) formally adopted the Referendum in its Constitution, which declared that the sovereignty rested with the people, and every law, accordingly, was subject to their approval. This local recognition of the people's rights became national in 1848, for the Federal Constitution, which was framed in that year, contained a provision which practically gave the people control over the matter of constitutional amendment. It was through this provision that the Constitution of 1874 was submitted to the people and adopted by the vote already recorded; and one of the popular features of the new Constitution was, that it not only retained the Referendum, but enlarged its scope by extending it to ordinary laws as well as to constitutional revision.

Thus the Referendum gained a fixed and apparently permanent place in the politics of the country; and the people acquired a large measure of control over their law-makers. Two forms of the institution are to be noticed, the optional and the compulsory. When the Referendum is optional, the people may pass judgment upon their Constitution or their laws, but their sanction is not required by statute. When the Referendum is compulsory, a law or a constitutional amendment is not legal until it has been submitted to the people and has obtained their approval. As regards the laws passed by the national parliament (the State Council and the National Council), the Referendum is optional. There is no constitutional requirement that such laws, to be valid, must be submitted to the people for their approval; but if any national law gives dissatisfaction, either eight Cantons or 30,000 citizens by a written petition can demand that the people pass judgment upon it. And that this right is not a nominal one is shown by the recent history of the country. For, between the years 1874 and 1893, 19 laws out of 169 were voted on by the people through the exercise of the Optional Referendum, and of these 19, 13 were rejected. The people can also take the matter of constitutional revision into their own hands by a species of the Optional Referendum, which is termed the "Popular Initiative." For by a provision adopted in 1848 and retained in 1874, the popular vote must be taken upon any constitutional change that is demanded in writing by 50,000 voters.

But when the Federal Assembly revises the Constitution, as it has the right to do, such revision must be submitted to the verdict of the people; or, in other words, the Referendum is compulsory. For the revision is not legal until it has been approved by a majority both of the voters and of the Cantons. Thus, the people themselves have a voice in all constitutional changes; while in the United States, whose national development has also come through the federative principle, it is the States alone that pass judgment upon constitutional amendments. For the amendments that are proposed by Congress are valid and become parts of the Constitution when they have been ratified by three-fourths of the States, either through their legislatures or through specially called conventions.

In the individual Cantons the Referendum is quite generally employed; for the example that was set by Saint Gallen (Saint Gall) in 1831 was almost universally followed. After the new and more liberal Constitution was adopted, in 1848, the Cantons one by one altered their own Constitutions, at once making them more democratic and providing either for an Optional or a Compulsory Referendum. Accordingly, in some of the Cantons all laws must be submitted to the people; in others, the people can accept or reject any law by demanding the right to vote upon it. In Zürich the Compulsory Referendum has been adopted, and from the beginning of 1869 to August, 1893, the people ratified 97 and rejected 31 of the 128 laws passed by their legislature.

The Referendum of Switzerland has attracted the attention of other nations, and has been generally considered an excellent means of submitting legislators to popular control. Even in the United States its introduction has been considered; but the size of the country makes such a cumbersome method of obtaining the direct vote of the people upon legislation practically impossible. Moreover, there is grave reason to doubt whether the Referendum has been an unmixed blessing to Switzerland. It has its critics as well as its defenders, and that it may easily produce unfortunate results a little reflection will suffice to show. For when the people can indorse or reject laws at pleasure, legislators lose their sense of responsibility and either frame measures carelessly or allow their own convictions to be governed by the dictates of the populace. It is

worthy of note that a recent and exhaustive study of the Referendum does not take a wholly favorable view of the institution.[1]

From this study of Switzerland it would appear that the principle of federation has quieted political discussions and established a stable government; but it has hardly made a strong nation. That it has so far failed, however, does not afford legitimate ground for criticism. The Swiss Cantons desired national existence, but they have not aspired to national greatness. With its 3,000,000 people and its 16,000 square miles of territory, Switzerland could not take its place among the foremost European powers or play a conspicuous part in European politics. In its weakness lies its strength. Unable to cope with the great military powers of Europe, it rests secure against attacks, because the great powers would not allow it to be invaded or despoiled. Accordingly, not being forced to maintain a standing army or to have a vigorous foreign policy, it finds its Constitution adequate to its needs. If the Government is lacking in executive authority, it is yet strong enough to secure to its citizens the privileges that belong to an enlightened democracy.

[1] "The Referendum in Switzerland," by Simon Deploige. An able discussion of the subject may be found in Mr. Lowell's "Governments and Parties in Continental Europe"; and the same writer has criticised the institution in the *International Journal of Ethics*, 6: 51. A reply to this criticism is contained in the same volume of this journal, p. 509. In the *Contemporary Review*, 67: 328, there is an article by Numa Droz which presents the merits and defects of the Referendum in a fair and temperate manner.

BOOK II

GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES

GREAT BRITAIN
CANADA
NEWFOUNDLAND
AUSTRALIA
- New South Wales
- Victoria
- South Australia
- Queensland
- Tasmania
- Western Australia

NEW ZEALAND
SOUTH AFRICA
- Cape Colony
- Natal
- The Transvaal
- The Orange Free State

CHAPTER I

CHARACTER OF GREAT BRITAIN'S POLITICAL PROGRESS. — HER HISTORY FROM 1800 TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE III. IN 1820

The political history of Great Britain has been a peculiar one. The Anglo-Saxon portion of her population, confined for the most part to England, has always possessed strong liberty-loving instincts, and has fiercely maintained its rights against the encroachments of king and nobles. Sometimes, indeed, the nobles have made common cause with the people in resisting the tyranny of the sovereign. Accordingly, the political progress of England presents a striking contrast to that of France. In France we see the people concentrate their resistance to oppression into a few awful years of blood and terror. In England the will of the people has made itself felt ever since Magna Charta, and the emancipation of the masses has been going on for seven hundred years. Slowly and reluctantly the English sovereigns have recognized the Commons as their masters. While continental Europe accepted the theory of the divine right of kings, England made the monarchs feel that they reigned by grace of their own subjects. As early as the thirteenth century the rude beginnings of a parliament were made, and from that time on parliamentary government in England grew in favor with the people. Little by little the rights of the king were curtailed and those of the Commons were increased, until at last it became a part of the unwritten constitution of the land that the sovereign was to have no will of his own in political affairs.

But this same Anglo-Saxon people which has so fiercely asserted its own political freedom has not always shown respect for the rights of others. More than once have the Scotch and the Irish found the Saxon a hard master. It must be

admitted that the political progress of England was, to some extent, shared by Scotland and Ireland; for her representative institutions were extended into those countries. But these institutions did not put political power into the hands of the common people. Even in England the suffrage was so restricted that the people's representatives expressed the will of the few rather than of the many; yet none the less did the masses voice their opinions and influence the conduct of affairs. The great leaders of the House of Commons, like Pym, Pitt, and Charles James Fox, had no thought of defying and antagonizing public opinion. Rather did they wish to feel that their measures were an outgrowth of past experience and would command the support of the liberty-loving English nation. Thus, the rugged temper of the Anglo-Saxon commanded the respect of the lawmakers of the land.

But in Scotland the common people had far less influence upon the affairs of government, and in Ireland they had none at all. In their misty and mountainous country the Scotch lived in contented poverty, and, with true Gaelic loyalty, were more concerned with the fortunes of the House of Stuart than with the course of everyday events. Sharing the political destinies of England, and sharing also the English love of freedom, they fought under the English banner; and even while they retained their own religious spirit and their own independent ways of thought and life, they contributed to England's strength and greatness. But they were too few in numbers to command the serious attention of the House of Commons, and, excepting the rare occasions when devotion to religious dogma or to exiled prince drove them into rebellion, they remained quiet, peaceable, and law-abiding. In Ireland, however, there was continual unrest and turmoil. Representative government meant nothing to the Irish peasantry. The peasants themselves were largely Catholics, and Catholics had no political rights whatever. So this despised and suffering class bore poverty, injustice, and persecution, only to find more awful misery if they rose to redress their wrongs (p. 301). For rebellion was always stamped out with sickening brutality. In 1782 a lame attempt was made to give the island the benefits of self-government, as its National Parliament, which was first established in 1613, was made independent of the British

Parliament and allowed to control Irish affairs. But as Catholics could not vote, the Parliament did not truly represent the people; and though it accomplished some good results, it did not reconcile the people to English rule. In 1798 occurred the formidable rebellion of the United Irishmen, a rebellion which was stamped out with terrible severity and which left the country pacified indeed, but bleeding, vindictive, and resentful. In the following year, through the skilful negotiations of Pitt, the union of Ireland with Great Britain was brought about, and the Dublin Parliament came to an end.

Thus, the political history of Great Britain shows a lack of unity. It is a record of justice and injustice, of freedom and tyranny, of progress painfully accomplished and domineering instincts stubbornly retained. But the story with its lights and shadows is a wonderful and inspiring one. No other nation has through so many centuries done service to the cause of human freedom; no other nation has spread the reign of justice and order over so many lands. For England has sent her teeming millions into regions near and far, into ice-bound tracts, sunny islands, tropical jungles, and mountainous wilds; and wherever her flag has waved, lawlessness, violence, and tyranny have disappeared. And as her colonies have waxed great and powerful and have learned to manage their own affairs, they have adopted her free institutions and made their own contributions to political progress.

But, in spite of the growth and expansion of six hundred years, the beginning of the nineteenth century did not find the English people prosperous and happy. The workingman in particular suffered many hardships. The middle classes were not devoid of political rights, but the day-laborer was treated almost like a chattel. He could not vote, he could not combine with his fellow-laborers to resist the grinding exactions of capital. His hours of labor were oppressively long, and his children had to begin work very young in order to keep from starvation. The law treated him with merciless severity. Larceny, poaching, and other petty crimes were punishable with death. But such were the jail accommodations that death was preferable to imprisonment. Brutality, uncleanliness, hunger, was the lot of prisoners. Vermin swarmed in the cells. Beds were not provided. There was no ventilation.

Fevers often raged among the prisoners and carried off large numbers. The bright spot in the poor man's existence was the ample provision made for paupers. Indeed, relief was so liberally given that it encouraged idleness and inflicted an exorbitant poor-rate on the well-to-do. It was not necessary to enter the poorhouse. To those who could not or would not toil money was given in their own homes.

Conscription was a terror to the lowly. The army was recruited by voluntary enlistment; but service in the militia was enforced, and the navy was supplied with seamen by the press-gangs. Many an unwary stroller was carried off in the night to spend weary years upon a British man-of-war. And the discipline both on shipboard and in the army was brutally severe. Men were flogged till they fainted. Five hundred lashes was no uncommon punishment, and death sometimes resulted from the torture.

Education was for the rich and those in comfortable circumstances. There was little public instruction. The children of the poor grew up in ignorance. Illiteracy was so common that in some districts nearly half of the men and women could not write their own names. Contagious diseases caused widespread mortality. Smallpox was a scourge of the poor. The drainage was wretched both in city and country, and fevers stalked through the land. Sanitary legislation was a crying need, even though the death-rate was very slowly diminishing.

Such was the condition of the poorer classes in England at the beginning of the century. In Scotland it was hardly better;[1] in Ireland it was even worse. Hence it was obvious that reforms were urgently needed in Great Britain as well as in the countries of continental Europe. But the masses were better off in Great Britain than they were in most other countries in that they had a government that took cognizance of their wrongs. Not in vain had representative institutions been gaining ground for six centuries. While absolutism still held its own in many of the European monarchies, the English Parliament stood ready to uphold the rights of the people. The House of Commons was not in close sympathy with the masses;

[1] "A History of the Scotch Poor Law," by Sir George Nicholls, pp. 108–111; 117–119.

the House of Lords not at all so. Yet the Commons was thoroughly possessed with the English love of liberty, and its temper, though conservative, was not opposed to progress. It had both the will and the power to correct abuses, and wherever abuses became unendurable, and were fully exposed, it showed itself ready to correct them. Hence, the political growth of England during the past hundred years has been orderly, though slow. It has not been characterized by great leaps and by repeated revolutions, but it has been the steady march of a liberty-loving people. The workingmen would fain have had their grievances righted more rapidly, and in their impatience they have sometimes resorted to violence. But the violence has been easily suppressed, and relief legislation has brought one abuse after another to an end.

But not in the opening years of the century did the great work of reform begin. William Pitt was at this time Prime Minister, — a post he had held since 1783, — and, after bringing the country into a distressing and seemingly a needless[1] war with France, he had seen his efforts to thwart Napoleon end in humiliating failures. Anxious, alert, and taxed to its full resources, the nation was in no mood to think of internal improvements. Nor did its King give the smallest encouragement to progress. Upon the throne sat the honest but incapable and bigoted George III., who opposed all liberal measures, and who had not learned that the sovereignty belonged to the people. He resisted his ministers when he considered their policy highly objectionable, and they made no attempt to coerce him. In 1801 Pitt was forced to resign because George would not countenance his scheme for giving the Catholics political equality. It was evident, therefore, that the times were not yet ripe for reform legislation. An arbitrary king and a drastic war were for some time to prevent the redress of wrongs. Pitt was succeeded by Addington, an incapable and narrow man, who had none of the qualities necessary to make a successful Prime Minister. His one notable achievement was to establish peace with France, in 1802. A respite from war was welcome, but the respite proved a very brief one. Napoleon was insolent and aggressive, and showed that he had no intention of living up to the treaty of peace. So England refused

[1] Goldwin Smith's "Three English Statesmen," p. 201 *et seq.*

to give up Malta, as she had agreed to do, and the war began once more.

On the eve of a bitter conflict the nation required the strongest guidance. Addington inspired no confidence and gave way to Pitt. In the few years that remained to him Pitt did all that he could to crush Napoleon. The French naval power was effectually broken at Trafalgar, in 1805; but the battle of Austerlitz, in December of the same year, showed that the victor of Marengo was as invincible as ever. Pitt was saddened and humiliated by the news of this disaster, and did not long survive it. His death forced George III., much against his will, to make Charles James Fox Prime Minister; for Fox was now the foremost statesman of England. His ministry was designated "All the Talents," as his Cabinet, instead of representing the principles of a dominant party, was made up from the most eminent statesmen and politicians of the time. But its existence was short-lived, and it accomplished little besides passing measures to abolish the slave-trade. It was weakened by the death of Fox, who died in September, 1806; for his successor, Lord Grenville, was an extremely conscientious, rather than an able or brilliant man. He roused the King's anger by proposing that Catholics should be allowed to serve in the army and the navy; and the people shared the feeling of their narrow-minded King. The country was not yet ready for religious toleration. It was dominated by Tory sentiment, which was strongly anti-Catholic.

The ministry of All the Talents, accordingly, came to an end in March, 1807, and was succeeeded by one formed under the nominal headship of the Duke of Portland. It was a Tory ministry, and its leading member was George Canning, at that time the most brilliant figure of the Tory party. He took the post of Foreign Secretary, and he devoted himself to a vigorous prosecution of the war with France. For the war was growing into vast proportions and assuming an alarming character. Unable to invade and conquer England, Napoleon struck at her commerce. On November 21, 1806, he issued the Berlin decree, which declared the British Islands in a state of blockade; prohibited all commerce or communication with them; pronounced all English wares found in the territory of France, or in that of her allies, liable to seizure; and closed French

ports, not only against British vessels, but against all ships that had touched at a British port. This tyrannical manifesto had drawn forth from Lord Grenville an Order in Council, issued January 7, 1807. It forbade neutral vessels to enter the ports of France or of her allies under penalty of seizure and confiscation.

This act of retaliation worked injury to France, but it did not give British merchants the protection they craved. For the carrying trade of the world had begun to pass under American control. A still more vigorous measure was necessary; and Canning, after coming into office, did not shrink from the requirements of the situation, for he was determined to preserve England's carrying trade at any cost. On November 11, 1807, he issued a second Order in Council, by which the harbors of France and of her allies and of every Continental state from which the English flag was excluded were put in a state of blockade; and all vessels bound to them were declared liable to seizure unless they had visited a British port. To these orders Napoleon replied by the Milan decree of December 17, 1807, in which he declared that all vessels having any intercourse whatever with Great Britain or her Colonies could not be regarded as neutral and were liable to seizure.

The "Continental System," as this scheme to annihilate England's commerce was termed, did not continue long. It was too arbitrary and unnatural to endure; but while it lasted it struck at the poorer classes by greatly increasing the price of imports, and caused suffering and discontent. The Orders in Council did keep America from acquiring the carrying trade of England; but in the end they brought on the foolish and unnecessary War of 1812.

Canning's vigorous foreign policy greatly interfered with Napoleon's plans. It was he who advocated the British invasion of Spain, which did much to undermine the French Emperor's power. But Canning retired from office in 1809 in consequence of a foolish duel, which for a time placed him under a cloud. The nation missed his brilliant services; but they were not needed to bring about Napoleon's downfall. England prosecuted the war with France with vigor. She abandoned Pitt's policy of merely forming coalitions of the Continental countries against France and supplying them with

money. Already had Canning suggested a more aggressive course; and his ideas were carried out. English armies took the field, and England furnished the general who was able to cope with Napoleon himself. Wellington again and again defeated the French armies in Spain; and to him must always belong the real glory of the victory at Waterloo.

The long war came to an end, and six months before its conclusion the war with America was also terminated. On December 24, 1814, was signed a treaty of peace between England and the United States. The three years' struggle had not settled all the questions on which the two countries were at issue; but it had at least given England increased respect for the enterprise and courage of the young nation across the sea. It was not likely that British men-of-war would in future impress American seamen; nor could the conditions which called forth the irritating Orders in Council again arisé. The mother-country and the republic which had sprung from her settled their differences from this time on by arbitration; and that they will always do so seems reasonably certain.

It was time that peace should come, for the years of war had brought England much suffering. Her debt had risen above $4,000,000,000; her working-classes had undergone great hardships. Wages had indeed been high during the war, but their purchasing power had diminished. The prices of food and clothing were very high. Bread, sugar, and tea were heavily taxed. The tax on malt drove the people to drink spirits. The tax on windows resulted in dark houses that were a serious detriment to health. Salt was taxed forty times its value; and paper was taxed from a penny and a half to threepence a pound. Sometimes nearly half of the poor man's earnings went to the Government through direct and indirect taxation.

And in addition to these evils the British workingmen were beginning to suffer through the introduction of machinery. Such suffering is always temporary. Mechanical contrivances that multiply the power of labor help no one more than the artisans. But, as hand labor is superseded by machinery, those who have supported themselves by the older method are for the time being thrown out of employment. And so it was in England in the early years of the century. The power loom

was supplanting the hand loom. Cloth of all kinds was beginning to be manufactured by machinery, and the hand weavers and spinners found their occupation gone. They were reduced to poverty and even to starvation. Their misery engendered a spirit of rebellion. They begged help from Parliament. They demanded that the use of the new frames for cloth manufacture be restricted by law. Sometimes they broke into the factories and destroyed the machinery to which they attributed their wrongs. To those who adopted these violent and riotous methods was given the name of Luddites, because an idiot named Ned Lud had once broken some frames in a fit of passion. These misguided artisans organized themselves into bands and did their destructive work with surprising method and thoroughness. Before entering a building known to contain cloth-making frames, they stationed sentinels around it to give the alarm. Then they rapidly demolished the obnoxious frames, and usually had disappeared before the police or military arrived to arrest them. Their demonstrations were first made toward the end of the year 1811. Continuing and increasing during the following year, they were met by repressive laws of a very rigorous character. It was in opposing these laws that Lord Byron made his maiden speech before the House of Lords, in 1812. The severe punishments enacted against the frame-breakers checked their depredations for a time. But the Luddites grew active again in 1816, as a terrible season of depression followed the close of the long war with France.

Such outbreaks were sure to be remedied in time by the revival of prosperity. But to bring about such a revival the efforts of Parliament were necessary, and many laws needed to be changed and modified. For legislation was shaped in the interest of the landowners. It was the men who owned the land that made the laws; and they were determined that, whatever else happened, their own rentals should not be lessened. A very oppressive corn law was passed in 1815, which kept foreign wheat out of the country and made the price of domestic wheat exceedingly high. Thus the farmers and the landowners grew rich, while the poor found even their daily bread a luxury.

But the landowners could not go on indefinitely making

laws for the benefit of their own class. It is the fundamental principle of representative government that the voice of the nation must be heard and obeyed. The wrongs and wretchedness of the English people were now beginning to find expression. Peace encouraged the discontented to make known their grievances. The era of reform was close at hand.

But before the reforms which have come in such rapid succession through the century are considered, the conditions under which they were brought about should be thoroughly understood. For they have not come without fierce resistance. The English temper is naturally conservative; it is rendered more so by self-interest. The conflict between liberal principles and traditional belief in England is one of the most interesting features in the history of the nineteenth century. In studying this conflict the following facts should be borne in mind: —

I. England is a democratic country with aristocratic institutions. It is democratic, because the will of the people ultimately triumphs. Its institutions are aristocratic, because the whole English social order is founded upon privilege. The sovereign is no longer endowed with any considerable degree of authority, but has enormous power as the social head of the realm. Below the royal family is the nobility, with its varying degrees of rank and importance according to title and antiquity. Below the nobility is the gentry class, which prides itself upon the fact that it does not work for a subsistence. Below the gentry is the class of professional men. Below them is the middle class, showing various degrees of cultivation and refinement. And lowest of all are the workingmen. But besides these distinctions are those introduced by the Church of England. For the Established Church has commanded the allegiance of the cultivated classes, and those who remain outside its fold can receive little social recognition. Moreover, it dominates the two great historic universities, Oxford and Cambridge. Thus, the aristocracy of the nation and a powerful Church were arrayed on the side of privilege.

II. There have been two leading political parties in England almost from the establishment of Parliament. In the latter part of the seventeenth century the two parties received the respective names of Whig and Tory; the former representing

the country, and the latter the court. These names were kept till 1830, when they were replaced by those of Liberal and Conservative. But the term "Whig" was still applied to the more moderate and conservative Liberals. Of these two parties the Conservative has by far the greater social advantage. The nobility, the Church of England, and the gentry give it their support. Representing privilege, it clings to the established order of things; and up to the closing decades of the century it resisted progressive legislation. It is especially pleased with a vigorous foreign policy. In time of war, it usually comes to the front and evinces a fervent, though somewhat narrow, patriotism.

The Liberal party draws its strength from the Dissenters, and from the thoughtful minds among all classes in the nation. Its members do not work in entire harmony, for its radical element holds advanced views which the moderate Liberals do not share. Yet to its efforts is due most of the reform legislation of the century. It is always in conflict with the Conservative party; and the result is progress.

III. Since the time of George III. the sovereigns of England have exercised no direct influence upon legislation, but have acted as constitutional monarchs. No more does the House of Lords attempt to dictate to the people. What the nation imperatively demands, the Lords concede. Thus, both the sovereigns and the peers of this highly aristocratic nation have recognized the fundamental principles of democracy. They have recognized these principles because of the strenuous teachings of seven hundred years.

IV. The English statesmen of the nineteenth century have been powerful allies to the cause of progress. Under their leadership the nation could not help moving forward. Pitt and Fox belong rather to the eighteenth century than the nineteenth. But Canning, Grey, Peel, Russell, Shaftesbury, Bright, and Gladstone have exercised a mighty influence in favor of liberal measures. No nation ever produced a nobler or more gifted body of statesmen. Their voices have been lifted up, not merely for country, but for humanity. Guizot, Thiers, and Gambetta lacked the moral elevation of these great Englishmen.

V. Domestic progress is sometimes interrupted by war.

In spite of her advanced civilization, England has become embroiled with petty powers several times during the century, and once or twice her strength has been taxed by a serious conflict; and when war comes domestic legislation is usually superseded. For a time the fortunes of battle absorb the attention of the nation. But when peace is established, the din of conflict is forgotten and the cause of domestic reform once more makes headway.

It took England some years to rally from the long war with France and to give to internal affairs the attention they demanded. After peace was made in 1815, there was for a time general stagnation in trade and business. Industries were greatly affected by the depression. Factories were closed, the foundries ceased working, and the demand for coal was greatly lessened. The workingmen found it difficult to obtain employment and became discontented and clamorous for help. In 1819 a vast army of reformers, whose number has been variously estimated at from 60,000 to 100,000, met at Manchester to voice their grievances. While this immense body of people was listening to one of its spokesmen, it was charged by the cavalry, and in the crush that ensued two persons were killed and more than six hundred wounded. But such significant demonstrations as this brought no measures of relief during the reign of George III.

CHAPTER II

GEORGE IV. — WILLIAM IV

During the last few years of his life George III. was blind and insane, and the Prince of Wales was made regent in 1811. Upon his father's death, in 1820, he succeeded to the throne under the title of George IV. Good-natured, but utterly frivolous, he has been aptly spoken of by Thackeray as "nothing but a coat and a wig and a mask smiling below it — nothing but a great simulacrum. . . . I look through all his life and recognize but a bow and a grin. . . . We cannot get at the character; no doubt never shall." Naturally he was no friend of progress, but the growing energies of the nation made reform imperative. England's policy both at home and abroad now began to grow more liberal and humane. In 1824 some of the most severe restrictions upon the artisan class were removed. Laborers were enabled to go whither they pleased and get the highest possible remuneration for their services. The exportation of machinery was allowed. And workingmen were no longer forbidden to combine for securing higher wages and shorter hours of labor. Perhaps this last privilege would not have been granted if its full significance had been understood. By allowing combinations the law made trade-unions possible, with all their attendant benefits and evils.

It was in the reign of George IV. that Canning again became a Cabinet minister, and, after long years of waiting, found a suitable opportunity of exercising his brilliant talents. He was made Foreign Secretary, in 1822, under Lord Liverpool; and his vigorous character and his liberal sympathies were soon felt in European diplomacy. He was an uncompromising foe of the Holy Alliance; he believed that feeble and struggling nations should not be suppressed by despotic governments; and he desired that England's vast power and wealth

should help civilization onward all over the world. When the Holy Alliance planned to crush the revolution in Spain, in 1822, Canning uttered a vigorous protest. On this occasion his efforts were unavailing; but, in 1825, he caused England to recognize the independence of the rebellious South American States which the Alliance wished to bring into submission to Spain. In 1826 he sent troops to Portugal to maintain the legitimate constitutional government. And throughout his administration of foreign affairs he gave encouragement to Greece in her war of liberation from the Turk. Unhappily he did not live to see her independence established by the battle of Navarino, on October 20, 1827. He died on August 6 of that year, about three months after he had succeeded Lord Liverpool as head of the Cabinet. His office of Prime Minister fell to the Duke of Wellington, whose hard and narrow mind led him to disapprove of Canning's conduct of affairs. But Canning had given to England's foreign policy a character which could not be forgotten. Although counted a Tory, he was no true representative of Tory principles. Gladstone, not Palmerston[1] or Beaconsfield, was his legitimate successor.

Although Wellington was a consistent opponent of reform, he could not resist the liberal tendencies of his time. In 1828 the Protestants and Catholics of the realm found relief in the repeal of the Test Act. Henceforth it was not necessary to repudiate the doctrine of transubstantiation or to take the sacrament from the Church of England in order to hold office under the Crown. But Catholics were still barred from sitting in the House of Commons; and this disability was removed, in 1829, by the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. Catholic emancipation had, indeed, long found advocates among the liberal statesmen of England. The efforts of Pitt and Grenville in its behalf have been recorded. Canning had exerted all his eloquence in favor of it in 1812; and had his career as Prime Minister lasted longer, he would doubtless have secured its accomplishment. Wellington and Peel were now the leading statesmen; and they were both heartily opposed to the emancipation, as was also the King. But when Daniel

[1] Palmerston was a Liberal and sympathized with all peoples that struggled for independence. But in his foreign policy he aimed, like the Tories, to defend British interests at any cost.

O'Connell was elected to a vacant Irish seat in Parliament from the county of Clare, they saw that the Catholics could no longer be deprived of political freedom. For all Catholic Ireland stood behind O'Connell, and the liberal minds of England sympathized with him in his struggle. The King abandoned his scruples, under Wellington's forcible suggestions, and signed the bill.

Not long after this George IV. died, unregretted by the nation, and was succeeded by his brother William, in June, 1830. William was a rough, unpolished man, obstinate, like all the Georges, but right-minded and sensible. His loyalty to the Constitution was soon put to the test, as the burning question of electoral reform was now before the nation and was demanding a speedy settlement. It was, indeed, a momentous question which the King and the Parliament were thus required to face. England had long recognized the fundamental principles of democracy. Her sovereigns ruled simply by the consent of their subjects, and one king had been beheaded and another dethroned for opposing the popular will. Even the royal power of vetoing legislation had become unconstitutional, and not since the time of Queen Anne had an English sovereign returned a bill to Parliament with the polite formula of disapproval: *Le Roi s'avisera.* But if democracy — the sway of the people — had become established, if the king was only the servant of his subjects, why should not all of the people have a voice in the government? Why should not suffrage, which alone makes a man truly a citizen, be gradually extended to all?

Logically there would seem to be but one answer to these questions, and that answer is — universal suffrage. If the rule belongs to the people, it should belong to all the people and not to a privileged few. Either the throne or the demos is the seat of power. There can be no logical warrant for stripping royalty of its prerogatives and bestowing those same prerogatives upon a select and favored class. Such would seem to be a fair presentation of the question of popular sovereignty, and yet this view is not as sound as at first sight it appears. For if all great historic movements have a logical outcome, that outcome cannot always be determined by exact reasoning and philosophic theory. The passions, the preju-

dices, and the time-honored customs of men are powerful factors in shaping the currents of history; and a mighty human tendency will not produce the same results in every age and among every people.

No doubt the world has been moving toward "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" ever since the demos became all-powerful at Athens more than twenty centuries ago. But the movement has not been an unbroken and an uninterrupted one; sometimes all traces of it seemed to disappear. And as it has gathered strength, it has taken manifold forms in different lands. In a country where the spirit of caste and privilege have sway, it cannot establish a true democracy. Hence, there are many legitimate stopping-places between Oriental despotism and free republican institutions.

Now it must be borne in mind that England is "a democratic country with aristocratic institutions" (p. 274). For more than a thousand years the English have been accustomed to look up to a titled class and to bow before court etiquette and strictly defined social distinctions. This people, one of the proudest, the sturdiest, and the freest in the world, is yet tinged with the spirit of subserviency. Deference to superiors is ingrained in the English nature. Every one but the sovereign himself has some one to whom he pays social homage. And this spirit of deference and subserviency is in the very fibre of the English Constitution. Taking shape gradually through many centuries, the Constitution has recognized the vital traits of the English character, as they have revealed themselves in innumerable usages, customs, and traditions. In short, the Constitution, even while recognizing the people through their representatives as supreme, yet exalts the few above the many and is moulded by the distinctions of title, landed proprietorship, and social privilege. It is designed to place the power in the hands of a favored class, who, by reason of their superior advantages and their ownership of the land, are constituted the social and political leaders of the realm.

Now, this being the character of the Constitution and of the English social order, the question of extending the suffrage was a grave and tremendous one. How grave it was, the

Duke of Wellington and the leaders of the Tory party well appreciated, and by every legitimate means they opposed the effort to increase the number of voters in the kingdom. For they saw in this attempt an assault upon the fundamental character of the Constitution. They saw that it would end in making Great Britain a democracy pure and simple, instead of a country of privilege; and upon democracy they looked with abhorrence. And it is probable, indeed, that this abhorrence would have been intensified if they could have foreseen all the results that have followed from the passage of the Electoral Reform Bill of 1832. For, after the franchise had once been extended, it was made more and more inclusive, until universal suffrage was plainly near at hand. And with the extension of the franchise the partisans of democracy have clamored for radical and sweeping changes which would, if effected, fundamentally change the character of British government and British society. For if royalty should be swept aside, the House of Lords abolished, primogeniture brought to an end, and government pass into the hands of the professional politician, the Great Britain of Chatham, Burke, Peel, yes, and of Gladstone also, would utterly pass away. With the triumph of democracy would come the ascendency of the common people instead of the leadership of the few.

All this should be remembered in justice to the Duke of Wellington and those who followed his lead in this great national crisis. He is usually thought to have headed a factious opposition and to have shown unpardonable narrowness in resisting what was imperatively demanded by the nation at large. But the "Iron Duke" ably defended his own position and showed very clearly that, restricted as the suffrage was, it was yet so bestowed as to reach more or less directly every class in the kingdom.[1] That its exercise was attended with grave abuses could not be denied, and those abuses the duke would have helped to do away with; but to remove abuses by the introduction of what he considered other and far graver abuses roused his bitter and indignant opposition.

But whether the Duke of Wellington was right or wrong theoretically, his position was certainly untenable. It was untenable simply because the vast majority of the English

[1] *Fortnightly Review*, 68: 539.

people clamored for the changes which he so stubbornly resisted. Crying, indeed, were the abuses of the existing electoral system. The members of the House of Commons obtained their seats largely through influence, favor, and bribery. Two thirds of them were appointed by peers or other influential persons. Some seats were openly offered for sale. Great cities like Manchester and Birmingham were entirely unrepresented. Many rotten boroughs existed, in which there was nothing that could fairly be termed an election. It was estimated that 300 seats were under the control of 160 persons. In Scotland the county votes did not number all told more than 2000; while the members from the cities were appointed by an electoral body which was chosen by the town council and allowed to name its successors.

To obviate these abuses an Electoral Reform Bill was brought before the Commons, in 1831, by Lord John Russell. This eminent English statesman had already identified himself with the cause of reform by his efforts in favor of Catholic emancipation. It was largely through his exertions that the Test Act was repealed and the Relief Bill passed. His liberal sympathies often placed him on the side of progress, and his long parliamentary career was honorable and distinguished. To the cause of electoral reform he gave his most enthusiastic support in the Lower House, as did Earl Grey, the head of the ministry, in the House of Lords. The provisions of the Reform Bill were very moderate. The representation of the rotten boroughs was to be taken away from them and given to cities; the property qualification was to be diminished so as to give the franchise to the well-to-do middle class; but the right to vote was still withheld from the poor. But, moderate though the bill was, it was rejected[1] by the Commons. Thereupon Lord Grey resigned, and Parliament was dissolved. The elections returned a majority in favor of reform. Lord Grey again assumed office; Lord Russell's bill was passed by the House of Commons on September 21, 1831. Rejected by the Lords, it was passed again by the Commons. The Lords rejected it a second time, and Lord Grey requested

[1] The bill passed to its second reading by a vote of 302 against 301. But a majority of one meant virtual defeat. Molesworth's "History of England," p. 65 (abridged edition).

the King's permission to appoint a sufficient number of new peers to give the bill a majority in the Upper House. This permission the King refused, and the Ministry resigned. But Wellington, who was asked by the King to form a Cabinet, found his task impossible. Lord Grey once more assumed office with the right to appoint new peers.[1] But so radical a measure was not found necessary. The Lords recognized the uselessness of further resistance and passed the Reform Bill on June 7, 1832.

This notable victory of the popular majority had a profound significance. It showed that public opinion was supreme in England in spite of the restricted character of the suffrage. Indeed, to a certain degree, it justified the opinion of the Duke of Wellington; for if the people could win so decided a triumph, even though few of them could vote, it might well be argued that they had the power to right their wrongs in their own hands. Their will might for a time be resisted by the conservative forces of the nation, but in the end they were sure to obtain what they persistently desired. So legislative reform, thus significantly inaugurated, was sure to go peaceably forward until the manifold grievances of the people were one by one redressed.

The path of reform, once entered, was for some time resolutely followed. But Lord Grey did not much longer continue in office. He was now nearly seventy years old. He had led the nation through an important crisis. He had been identified with many good and noble causes ever since he had carried the bill for abolishing the slave-trade, in 1807. Not the least generous of his actions was his espousal of the cause of Queen Caroline when she was shamefully slandered by her husband, George IV. After his long and useful career the aged statesman felt that he had earned the right to spend his last years in quiet; and he retired from public life in 1834. Few Englishmen have earned a more honorable place in the annals of the nation. His dignity, resolution, and discretion brought about a momentous reform without causing a civil war, as rash leadership might have done.

[1] This right the King granted in a private interview with Lord Grey and Lord Brougham. But it was the latter who had the foresight and the courage to require the King to give his consent in writing over his own signature.

But Lord Russell and other liberal men remained in Parliament to push reform measures forward. In 1834 outdoor relief to paupers was discontinued, and the workingmen made thereby more self-respecting and industrious. In 1835 was passed the Corporation Reform Act, which brought about a great improvement in the government of cities. Heretofore municipal affairs had been controlled by close corporations. The citizens of a town had no voice whatever in their own government. By the act of 1835 all the rate-payers in English towns and cities were empowered to vote for municipal officers.[1] In Scotland the franchise was limited to those who could vote in parliamentary elections.[2]

An admirable step toward diminishing ignorance was taken in 1836, when the tax of fourpence on newspapers was abolished. The news of the day could now penetrate the dwellings of the poor as well as those of the rich. In this same year the Dissenters were partially relieved from the unjust and trying exactions of the Established Church. The Church had kept absolute control over the services of marriage and of burial. But dissenting clergymen were now allowed to conduct the former ceremony; the latter was considered too solemn to be given into their hands.

Another injustice from which Dissenters suffered was that of tithes. Those who were outside of the Established Church had to contribute to its support. By leaving the Church of England they lost many rights and privileges; yet they had to help the very organization which took those rights and privileges from them. The tax was therefore an interference with religious freedom. Its abolition was proposed in 1836, but was not finally carried until 1838. The measure was weakened in its passage through Parliament; but the abuse was much modified, though not entirely removed.

Almost from the beginning of the century the most humane members of Parliament had endeavored to mitigate England's severe penal code. Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir James Mackintosh had been conspicuous in this work. The former had

[1] For the ultimate effects of this act consult Vine's "Municipal Institutions."

[2] For reforms in the Scotch municipal towns see W. Cory's "Guide to Modern English History," II. 357.

again and again introduced bills to reduce the number of capital offences, which were more than two hundred. He accomplished little, however, as he had to fight against the Government, the bishops, and the eminent judges of his day. But the humane sentiments he uttered made their profound impression on the nation; and the work which he so nobly advocated went on after his death. The list of capital offences was greatly abridged, as one crime after another was stricken from it; till, finally, in 1837, it had been reduced from over two hundred to seven.

CHAPTER III

QUEEN VICTORIA'S REIGN TO THE DEATH OF LORD PALMERSTON

William IV. was sixty-five years old when he came to the throne, and he reigned but seven years. He died at Windsor on June 20, 1837, and was succeeded by his niece Victoria, the daughter of the Duke of Kent. Hanover now became a separate kingdom, as it could not be governed by a woman, and passed under the rule of the Duke of Cumberland, the fifth of the sons of George III. Victoria was but eighteen years old at her accession to the throne, but her virtue and her native dignity immediately won her the heart of the English nation. She was married in 1840 to her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg Gotha, a man by no means brilliant, but sensible, right-minded, and discreet. Both her public and her private life have been wholly admirable, and her reign has been one of almost uninterrupted prosperity. No English ruler has shown so full a recognition as Victoria of the sovereign rights of the people. She has reigned as a constitutional monarch, and has never attempted to assert her own will in opposition to the expressed will of the nation. Compliance with the people's mandates has not always been easy. Her political and social preferences are strong, and she has sometimes been forced to accept ministers and measures that were extremely distasteful to her. But whatever the voice of the nation has demanded she has faithfully executed.

Reforms came rapidly under this liberal-minded and constitutional Sovereign. In 1839 was adopted the system of penny postage. Formerly the dues upon letters were not prepaid and the amount that was collected upon a letter depended upon the distance it was carried. The awkwardness and injustice of this method attracted the attention of Sir Rowland Hill, who

advocated uniform rates of postage and the use of stamps. His ideas were so novel that they encountered much opposition at first; but their adoption brought vast benefit to the people and made the management of the postal service far more simple and easy for the Government.

The condition of the working-classes was further improved in 1843 by the efforts of Lord Ashley. This earnest philanthropist, who afterward became Lord Shaftesbury, has a peculiarly honorable place among the reformers of this century. He was a very intense, prejudiced, and intolerant man, and his narrowness of mind prevented him from becoming a great statesman. But his sympathies were most humane, and his interest in the poor and suffering was deep and genuine. He labored assiduously all his life to improve the condition of the unfortunate, and he became recognized as the foremost philanthropist of England. Through his efforts the insane were properly cared for, factories were carefully inspected, the hours of labor were curtailed, and working-women and children were protected from the unhappy effects of industrial competition. It was in behalf of women and children that Lord Ashley exerted himself in 1843. He secured the passage of a bill by which the employment of women in mines was forbidden; and children under ten years of age were not to be employed at all. But these and other measures in favor of the working-classes did not pass without encountering serious opposition. The competition of other European countries was greatly dreaded. Even men of liberal sympathies prophesied that England would lose her commercial supremacy if her laborers received greater consideration than those of other nations. But these forebodings have been proved groundless by the course of events. Labor is more effective when it is intelligent, free, and protected from drastic exertions.

But the time had come when a momentous and revolutionary change in England's commercial policy was necessary. The landowners had kept the value of agricultural products high by imposing taxes on imported articles of food. But as England's population increased, this system became more and more oppressive to the laboring classes. The price of wheat was kept so high that bread was to the poor man a luxury. Eng-

land's workingmen were but too often ill fed and destitute. The country was sacrificing the class upon which its prosperity depended. No wonder, then, that a fierce agitation against the Corn Law was begun.

The leader in the movement for free trade was Richard Cobden. His tracts were circulated all over the land. John Bright gave him able assistance; and the Anti-Corn-Law League won hosts of converts by its ceaseless exertions. The feeling against protection became so strong that Sir Robert Peel, the head of the Conservative Government, was, in 1842, obliged to modify the duty on corn and to lighten or abolish the duty on seven hundred and fifty other imported articles. But Peel was pledged to support the landed interest, and only the force of circumstances converted him to free trade. In 1845 the potato crop in Ireland failed, and the grain crops of Scotland and Ireland were short. The nation had to choose between famine and free corn. Peel was humane enough and wise enough to see that the Corn Laws were doomed. He advocated their repeal; but some of his Cabinet were obdurate, and he resigned. But no other statesman was equal to the crisis. So he was recalled, and the obnoxious laws were repealed in the face of fierce opposition and forebodings of national disaster. Peel had saved his country, but in doing so he had incurred the enmity of his party. The Tories could not forgive him for abandoning the principles he was placed in power to defend; and after a time they succeeded in overthrowing him. But since his death his countrymen have done full justice to his memory. His position was a trying one, but he would not have been a true patriot had he done otherwise than he did. He was not a man of genius or of great foresight. More than once he resisted needed reforms. But in the massiveness of his character, in the breadth of his intellect, and in his unflinching discharge of duty he embodied the best traits of the English mind and temper.

The duty on corn being removed, other taxes on imports were one by one abandoned. England became more and more committed to free trade. One protected interest after another was deprived of government support, and taxes were finally imposed for revenue only. The Navigation Laws, which imposed ingenious restrictions on the shipping of other nations,

were abolished, though not without some difficulty. And the tax on sugar, intended to protect British planters in the West Indies, whose product was admitted at a very low rate, was modified. Free trade has not benefited all classes in England equally. Under its workings the landlords and farmers have seen their incomes diminish alarmingly, and they have often sighed for the good old days of protection. But the commercial prosperity of the nation is directly due to its free-trade policy. By admitting raw materials free of duty, England enables her manufacturers to produce their wares with the utmost possible cheapness, and to find a market for them all over the world. Realizing this, her statesmen resolutely frown upon all attempts to revive protection, in spite of the discontent of the farmers and the impoverished country squires.

Not even free trade, however, could at once bring the sufferings and hardships of the workingmen to an end, and the discontent which had long existed among the English laborers caused an alarming agitation in 1848. For it was in that year that the famous Chartist movement forced itself upon the attention of the country, and, for a short time, assumed a commanding importance. The movement had been founded ten years earlier, when six members of the House of Commons held a conference with representatives of the Workingmen's Association, and demanded six important reforms in a document known as *The People's Charter*. The reforms were: (1) annual parliaments; (2) universal suffrage; (3) the ballot; (4) abolition of the property qualification for a seat in the House of Commons; (5) payment of members of the House of Commons; (6) the apportionment of electoral districts by population. From the first the movement gained ground among the workingmen, and in 1848 the nation realized that it had become widespread and formidable. For, influenced largely by the revolutions that were disturbing Europe, the members of the Chartist organization now took an aggressive and threatening attitude. They met for military drill; they listened to incendiary speakers; and they announced that, on the tenth of April, 500,000 men would meet in London, on Kensington Common, to march in procession and present a monstrous petition to Parliament. The petition was said to contain 6,000,000 signatures; and the Government was so far

alarmed that it forbade the procession and took extraordinary precautions to preserve the peace. But when the day came round, only 50,000 men assembled instead of 500,000, and the petition was found to contain less than 2,000,000 genuine signatures. So the attempted demonstration proved a fiasco, and with the return of prosperity the Chartist movement lost its significance. Yet it was not organized in vain, for of the reforms it demanded some have been granted wholly or in part, while the others are even now advocated by the Radicals of the kingdom.

Some evidence of England's prosperity was given by the industrial exhibition of 1851. This was the first of those colossal exhibits which have attracted the attention of the world and have powerfully stimulated arts and manufactures. It was undertaken at the suggestion of the Prince Consort, and was held in the Crystal Palace, especially constructed for the purpose. The variety and brilliancy of the exhibit called forth universal admiration; and the project was successful from every point of view. Unlike some that have succeeded it, it more than paid for itself.

In the following year occurred an event which calls for special mention and which caused profound sorrow throughout the English nation. On September 14, 1852, the Duke of Wellington died at the age of eighty-three. He was greater as a soldier than as a statesman; yet even in peace his profound respect for law, his moral dignity, and his sturdy sense had been of much service to his country. The victor of Waterloo will always be remembered as one of the greatest of Englishmen.

The triumphs of industry and of domestic progress were mingled with victories of a sterner kind. For England has had much stormy and tumultuous experience during Victoria's reign. Her widespread dominions easily bring her into conflict. For she has to keep in order the races she has subjugated, and to maintain her frontiers against aggression. Sometimes the conquest of one province leads to that of a neighboring one and then to still others adjoining, in order that unruly tribes may not be hovering about her borders, ready to disturb the peace. And the very vastness of England's power is a source of temptation. It excites the desire of bringing new tracts under her civilizing sway; and it also

occasions distrust and suspicion of other nations that push their own conquests rapidly forward. More than one unjust and needless war has disgraced England's annals during the nineteenth century. Afghanistan, India, China, various portions of Africa, and other countries have been the scenes of bloody conflicts between England and her civilized or savage opponents.

Peculiarly jealous and sensitive has Great Britain been regarding her Indian possessions. At the beginning of the century her conquest of India was by no means complete, and she has engaged in several wars with a view to extending and strengthening her rule over the Indian races. In 1824 she began the conquest of Burma and annexed portions of that formidable empire. In 1839 she attempted to get control of Afghanistan, for the advance of the Russians into Asia occasioned alarm. It was believed by many that Russia could easily invade India by occupying the Afghan territory; so England determined to forestall her by taking possession of that important strategic country. But the attempt only ended in disaster. British troops occupied Kabul; but in January, 1842, nearly 4000 soldiers and 1200 camp followers, after retiring from that city, were cut down almost to a man in the Khyber Pass. And though the massacre was avenged, the country was evacuated. Better success attended the attempt to subjugate new tracts in India. There was much fighting between the English and the natives from 1843 to 1853, as a result of which Sind, the Panjab, and Pegu in Burma were brought under British rule.

The conquest of India led to a war with the neighboring empire of China. Hostilities first broke out in 1840 owing to a difficulty on the opium question; but after Canton was captured and Nanking threatened, the Chinese consented to a treaty of peace, which opened some of their principal cities to the British. Thus the traffic in opium, to which China had objected, was thoroughly established.[1] But in 1856 an outrage perpetrated on a British vessel in Canton River led to a second

[1] Much censure has been visited upon this traffic and upon England for insisting upon its establishment; and the criticism is well grounded, though there is something to be said upon the other side of the question. *Nineteenth Century*, 11: 242 and 403; *Saturday Review*, 54: 331; *Contemporary Review*, 74: 121.

war. Canton was taken by the British in 1857; and the Peace of Tientsin was made in 1858. The Chinese granted freedom of trade and protection to Christians, and agreed to bear the expenses of the war. This treaty, however, was not kept. So, in 1860, the English and French undertook a joint expedition against China and brought her to terms. Peking was threatened, and a new peace was concluded, by which harbors were opened and freer communication with European states was established.

This war with a vast but sleepy Oriental state never assumed an alarming character. But the struggle with Russia was much more serious. Trouble with Russia first arose in 1853; on March 28, 1854, the Crimean War was declared. It was a conflict that appealed to the English national pride, for its object was to cripple Russia and prevent her from advancing on Constantinople. Hence, the English were led into the war by very much the same feelings that caused them to invade Afghanistan: in order to make that country a barrier against Russian advance upon India. None the less the war was a mischievous one and utterly uncalled for. It accomplished no good whatever. It encouraged the Turk to feel that England would protect him in his career of barbarity and crime; and at a critical period it committed England to an evil and mistaken policy. For at this time England was probably strong enough to coerce the Turk, and force him to rule with decency or to abdicate. It is possible that she could have worked with Russia to bring about that end. The Russian Chancellor, Nesselrode, heartily believed in an alliance with England and had endeavored to bring such an alliance about; and the Emperor Nicholas shared his views upon this matter. But the Emperor suffered from brain disease in the closing years of his life, resented opposition, and seemed unable to adhere to a single line of policy. His contradictions made it difficult to work with him rather than against him; the English suspicion and jealousy of Russia made coöperation with him practically impossible. So England listened to the evil suggestions of Napoleon III., and espoused the cause of the Turk instead of uniting with Russia to keep him in order. The result was a bloody war and an estrangement with Russia which has never been removed. And now, at the close of the century, England,

the only European power humane enough to arrest the Turk in his brutal career, no longer has the strength to do so. Germany and Austria have a vital interest in the disposition of Constantinople; and they, as well as Russia, would resist any attempt on the part of England to settle the pestiferous Eastern Question.

So the war policy prevailed in spite of the protests of some manly and noble-minded Englishmen. John Bright denounced the war in no measured terms, but his grave and lofty utterances[1] were treated as the delusions of a mere theorist who had no understanding of the practical side of national politics. The war was begun, but at first it was most inefficiently managed. Lord Aberdeen was the English Prime Minister. He was not a man of great ability; moreover, he was not heartily in favor of the war. He did not prosecute it with energy, and very soon came complaints that the troops were not properly clothed, fed, and sheltered. The *London Times* "thundered"; the Ministry resigned. Lord Palmerston was called on to form a Cabinet, and under his vigorous administration England recovered her military prestige. Russia was humiliated and the Ministry was popular. None the less Lord Palmerston's influence upon English politics was by no means wholly good. Arrogant and self-willed, he had already been censured by the Queen for his headstrong course as Foreign Secretary; for he had not hesitated to embarrass the Government by the rash expression of his individual opinions. But keenly though he felt the royal rebuke, he did not drop his hauteur of manner and his insolent disdain of his political opponents. The criticisms of men like Bright he treated with contempt,[2] and

[1] "Let it not be said that I am alone in my condemnation of this war and of this incapable and guilty administration. And, even if I were alone, if mine were a solitary voice, raised amid the din of arms and the clamors of a venal press, I should have the consolation I have to-night — and which I trust will be mine to the last moment of my existence — the priceless consolation that no word of mine has tended to promote the squandering of my country's treasure or the spilling of one single drop of my country's blood." — "Speeches by the Right Hon. John Bright, M.P.," edited by James E. Thorold Rogers, p. 246.

[2] Yet Lord Palmerston must have winced sometimes under John Bright's vigorous thrusts. In defending the Crimean War, Lord Palmerston had the audacity to assert that the Turks had improved within the past twenty years more than any other nation in Europe, knowing well that this statement did

his mocking and defiant attitude did not lend dignity to the debates of the House of Commons.[1] But for a number of years after the outbreak of the Crimean War he was recognized as the foremost statesman of England. He was Prime Minister from 1855 to 1858 and from 1859 to 1865. In his earlier life he was a Tory; but his humane sympathies led him after a time into the Liberal party. For he disliked the Holy Alliance, and he believed that the weaker nations of Europe should be allowed to win their freedom and to establish constitutional governments without being thwarted by the stronger powers. So, naturally, he sympathized with Napoleon III. in his efforts to free Italy from Austrian rule; and he would have protected Denmark from Austria and Prussia in 1864, if he could have secured the active coöperation of other powers. His interference in European politics was not, therefore, without its beneficial effects. But he lent his support to the "unspeakable Turk"; and his foreign policy lacked breadth and marked him rather as an astute diplomatist than as a statesman of the loftiest aims. He was no true representative of English liberalism. He turned the thoughts of the nation away from peaceful progress; and he died at an advanced age without having left any enduring monument to win for him the gratitude of his country.

The Crimean War was stern and bloody; it was soon followed by one which shook England to its very centre. In the spring of 1857 occurred the Sepoy Mutiny, which at once assumed alarming proportions. It arose partly from the dislike of the native soldiers for the greased cartridge required by the Enfield musket. But the greased cartridge was the occasion rather than the cause of the rebellion. Widespread disaffection toward the English existed among the Indian troops, and their mutinous spirit was increased by their great numerical superiority over the English soldiers. There were in the

not apply to the Christians under Turkish rule, though he meant to give the impression that it did. Mr. Bright thereupon accused him of "a disingenuousness which I should be ashamed to use in argument." — Speech on the "Enlistment of Foreigners Bill" (already quoted from on the preceding page).

[1] Lord Palmerston was an Irish peer, and preferred to be elected to the House of Commons than to represent Ireland in the House of Lords. For not all Irish peers can sit in the House of Lords, but only a certain number (twenty-eight), who are elected for life by their fellow-peers.

Indian army 230,000 Sepoys and only 40,000 Europeans. Naturally, therefore, the natives thought they could free themselves from a rule which, for all its benefits, they never loved. Regiment after regiment of Sepoys mutinied, and soon nearly 100,000 soldiers were in revolt. It was difficult for the English to quell the uprising promptly, for they had to act over a large territory with an insufficient force of men. Fortunately for them the principal native princes remained loyal. Had it been otherwise, the whole country would have had to be reconquered.

Even as it was, the English found their task a most formidable one. The rebels captured some strongholds and invested others that were rescued with difficulty. The heroic defence of Lucknow has become famous in history; and Havelock, who relieved it, and Sir Henry Lawrence, who was killed while defending it, are counted among the heroes of the English nation. A still higher place was given to Lord John Lawrence, whose wise rule and remarkable foresight undoubtedly kept the Panjab from joining the mutiny.

English valor and discipline triumphed over every obstacle. In a few months the revolt was practically quelled, though it took some time to stamp out all the sparks of rebellion. But the atrocities committed by the Sepoys were frightful beyond description. They had no respect for age or sex, and the sufferings they inflicted upon women and children made the English thirst for vengeance deep and terrible. But for the firm refusal of Lord Lawrence, the Taj at Agra would have been razed to the ground; and how some of the ringleaders of the mutiny were blown from the mouths of cannon is a well-known story. Awful as this punishment seems, it is hardly to be condemned on the score of cruelty, for the death itself was a painless one. It was planned simply to teach an impressive lesson; for the bodies thus scattered to the wind could not be reunited, and to the sensuous mind of the Hindu this meant the destruction of the soul. But it is hard to justify such an outrageous contempt for the religion of a subject people; and the act was, moreover, a political mistake. It served to deepen the sullen resentment of the Hindus toward their English masters — a resentment which may again burst forth into a lurid and destructive flame.

After the Sepoy rebellion was ended, and peace was finally made with China, no wars of consequence occurred for a number of years. England was free to consider domestic affairs; but for some time no important reforms were carried through. Lord John Russell had long been anxious to extend the franchise, and had brought in a bill to secure that end in 1854. But the measure failed to pass. Nor was this reform any more successful when advocated by the short-lived Conservative Ministry of Lord Derby, in 1858, or by Lord John Russell in his excellent bill presented in 1860. Even the most progressive nation cannot continue in the path of reform without respite or cessation; and after repealing the Corn Laws, England might well pause and survey the beneficial changes she had made through the preceding quarter of a century. The years between 1850 and 1865 were years of growth and expansion under the new conditions created by the radical legislation of earlier years. The country was somewhat tired of reforms. What it needed was to reap the full benefit of those already made. Moreover, the succession of exciting events that began with the Crimean War absorbed the attention of the nation. Not long after the Sepoy mutiny was suppressed came the war in North Italy waged by Napoleon III. against Austria; and this struggle was watched with eager interest by the English people. And hardly had this conflict been decided, when the American Civil War began, and gave the English Government grave questions to consider and to settle. Lord Palmerston's sympathies lay with the South rather than the North, as did those of many prominent Englishmen of both parties. Hence there was a strong feeling in favor of recognizing the Southern Confederacy. The better sense of the nation prevented such an act of hostility toward the American Union; but to the end of the war the Cabinet had to face troublesome problems regarding its proper attitude toward the two belligerents. In 1861 occurred the irritating Trent Affair, so called because the envoys of the Confederacy, Mason and Slidell, were forcibly taken from the British steamer *Trent* by an Amerian man-of-war. England at once prepared to make war on the United States, but the prompt restoration of the envoys by President Lincoln took away all pretext for resorting to arms. On this occasion the Prince Consort used

his influence to restrain and modify the excited British feeling, and his good offices won for him the respect and regard of the American people. They as well as the English deeply mourned his untimely death, which occurred at the close of 1861.

The blockade of the ports of the Confederacy by the United States navy also caused great irritation in England. For through this blockade the English factories were deprived of cotton, large numbers of workmen were thrown out of employment, and much suffering was caused. The Government, therefore, was under a strong pressure not to recognize the blockade, especially as it was imperfectly maintained, owing to the vast extent of coast which the United States gunboats had to watch. Neutrality was however preserved in this matter, but not in preventing Confederate cruisers from being constructed and manned in English ports. The steamships *Florida* and *Alabama* were both made for the Confederacy at Birkenhead by an English firm, and were allowed to sail forth on their destructive mission, though the Government was fully warned of their character by the American minister at London. They did enormous damage to American commerce, and gave the United States ground for preferring against England the famous Alabama Claims.

CHAPTER IV

MR. GLADSTONE. — LORD BEACONSFIELD. — RECENT EVENTS

Much to the relief of England, the American Civil War ended in 1865, and on October 18 of the same year occurred the death of Lord Palmerston. With the passing away of this contentious character began a new interest in reform. Lord Russell was made Prime Minister, and Mr. Gladstone, whose commanding abilities had long been recognized,[1] became the Liberal leader in the House of Commons. The cause which was so dear to Lord Russell now seemed likely to succeed. A moderate bill to reform the franchise was brought forward by Mr. Gladstone, but it was defeated by the efforts of his political opponent, Mr. Disraeli. This was a sore disappointment to Lord Russell. He resigned, and abandoned the hope of being himself the means of accomplishing this reform which he had so often advocated. He never again held office, but as a member of the House of Lords he continued for some time to take an active interest in politics. Somewhat lacking in political sagacity and balanced judgment, he had not the qualities of a leader. Greatness of mind and character hardly belonged to him; he did not grow with his times, and before his death his liberalism represented the views of a past generation.[2] But for fifty years he gave his country valuable service, and the laws of England are more humane and enlightened because of his parliamentary career.

After Lord Russell's resignation Lord Derby was for the

[1] In particular Mr. Gladstone's skill in finance was little short of marvellous. He handled the dry facts of revenue and expenditure so as to give them a genuine fascination.

[2] His speech in the House of Lords on the secret ballot, July 8, 1872, is a curious presentation of antiquated ideas. See "Wagner's Modern Political Orations," p. 158.

third time called to form a Cabinet. Mr. Disraeli, the most brilliant figure among the Conservatives, led his party in the House of Commons. Unscrupulous, shrewd, and boundlessly ambitious, he was always ready to do the thing that would bring success; and he now had the effrontery to carry through the reform which he had just pronounced revolutionary and had defeated. He presented a more radical measure for lowering the franchise than Mr. Gladstone had advocated, and it was passed, Lord Derby giving it his consent rather than his support. By its provisions suffrage was bestowed on all male householders in boroughs who were taxed for the relief of the poor, and on all persons in the counties who owned property that yielded an annual return of £5 or who paid rental of £12. The distribution of parliamentary seats was also made more fair; towns with less than 10,000 inhabitants that had two members of Parliament lost one of them, and a third member was granted to Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Leeds. Altogether, the measure was as liberal a one as the country was then prepared for; but it was by no means a final settlement of the suffrage question.

The Reform Bill was passed on August 15, 1867. Before the year was ended, England was drawn into one of those petty wars which she has had to undertake so often during the century. Theodore, King of Abyssinia, had imprisoned English officials and missionaries, and it was apparent that force alone would effect their release. An armed expedition was therefore sent from Bombay to invade his country and bring him to terms. This it succeeded in doing under the vigorous leadership of Sir R. Napier. The prisoners were set free, and the defeated and humiliated ruler shot himself rather than fall into the hands of the nation he had so insolently defied.

About the same time the Fenian agitators, who had been more or less active since 1858, gave trouble in Ireland and on the Canadian border. In 1866 they crossed the Niagara into Canada, and were not repressed without bloodshed. In 1867 they occasioned several outbreaks in Ireland, and large numbers of them were arrested, tried, and convicted of treason. The movement was not in itself dangerous, but it was significant as revealing the deep-seated discontent of the Irish people. The Fenian oath called on the brotherhood "to free and regen-

erate Ireland from the yoke of England." All the violence and the outrages of the Irish Land League were foreshadowed by this earlier agitation.

Lord Derby retired from office on February 25, 1868, and Mr. Disraeli was made the head of the Cabinet. His ministry, however, was of short duration. On November 11 of the same year Parliament was dissolved, and the Liberals gained a large majority in the elections. This meant that Mr. Gladstone was to be Prime Minister; for he was now beyond question the foremost statesman of his party. Like Lord Palmerston, he had begun his political career as a Tory; but his interest in reform did not allow him to continue with a party that resisted progress. He was now fifty-nine years old, but he was in the full vigor of his powers, and, unlike Lord Russell, he was, even after passing middle life, amply able to grasp and assimilate new ideas. Hence, as long as he remained in politics, he continued to lead his party in the truest sense of the word. He did not allow it to rest upon its laurels, but continually forced it to take new and higher ground.

Mr. Gladstone's term of office began on December 9, 1868. On March 1, 1869, he brought in a bill for the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and not without difficulty secured its passage through both Houses. The bill was aimed at crying abuses, for a population chiefly Catholic was obliged to support a Protestant Church; and the very endowments by which that Church was maintained had once belonged to the Catholics. But the measure attacked an arrogant and powerful organization, and it excited the anti-Catholic feeling which is so deeply rooted in the English mind. After the Church was disestablished her bishops were no longer able to sit in the House of Lords or to receive their appointment from the Crown; her clergy could not obtain their support from the public revenues, though the life interest of existing clergymen was duly provided for; and her endowments were to be used for the good of Ireland after all just claims upon them had been paid. The sum realized from the endowments was not as large as Mr. Gladstone expected it to be, but it amounted to about $50,000,000.

But other reforms, far more important than the disestablishment of the Church, were demanded by the Irish people.

For the condition of Ireland was as deplorable as it was when the Act of Union was passed in 1800 (p. 267). Indeed, her wrongs dated back to the year 1177, when Henry II. invaded her shores and received the submission of her princes. Since that time the distracted country had met with little but cruelty and injustice at the hands of its conquerors. The English ruled Ireland with sole regard to their own interests, confiscated her lands, brutalized her peasantry, and punished insurrection with fire and sword (p. 267). Prostrate and bleeding, her people submitted to hateful laws which they were powerless to evade. Those laws that were most oppressive to the Catholics were modified or changed; but nothing was done for the Irish tenant, whose condition was a most unhappy one. He could be ejected at his landlord's will; the improvements he made upon his holding could be appropriated by his landlord; and his rent was often increased because of these very improvements which he had made and which had rendered the holding more valuable. Moreover, many landlords made their homes in England, never seeing their tenants, but submitting them to the merciless exactions of dishonest agents.

Under these hard conditions the Irish peasants could not thrive. They lived in poverty and misery, and their discontent grew deeper the longer their sufferings continued unrelieved. When the crops failed, famine overtook them and drove them out of the country in great numbers. The potato famine in 1845 caused a wholesale emigration, and the population soon diminished from 8,000,000 to 6,500,000. This exodus brought relief, but those who were unwilling to emigrate still suffered from the unjust land laws and answered injustice by crime. But the remedy for crime was coercion, and again and again in the course of the century has England placed Ireland under military law. More than forty coercion acts for Ireland were passed by the British Parliament between 1801 and 1887. But coercion was in no true sense a remedy for Irish agitation. It silenced discontent, but it did not heal it. What the Irish peasants craved was justice, and even justice failed to satisfy them at last, so long was it withheld. The peasant brooded over his wrongs. He reflected that the land had once belonged to his ancestors and had been taken from them by force. He therefore learned to regard it as

rightfully his own, and he determined to regain possession of it if possible. A deep longing for national independence was taking hold of his mind.

But relief from the oppressive land laws was the first step necessary. Three things the Irish peasants demanded to relieve their distress — fixity of tenure, fair rent, and free sale of improvements. These demands were termed the three F's, and they commended themselves to Mr. Gladstone's sense of justice. In a very imperfect manner the three F's were embodied in the Irish Land Bill of 1870, which was Mr. Gladstone's first attempt to redress the wrongs of the Irish tenant. As time showed, it was not a very satisfactory bill. It offended the landlord and it did not sufficiently relieve the tenant. Yet it marked in a very striking manner the change of attitude which England, under Mr. Gladstone's lead, was learning to take toward the Irish people. For besides granting, however imperfectly, the three F's, the bill contained provisions for enabling tenants to buy their farms from the owners of them by small annual payments extending over thirty-five years, two thirds of the purchase money to be advanced by the State. Thus, it was fully recognized that Ireland had grievances which coercion could not cure. Yet even Mr. Gladstone was not ready to accept Home Rule; nor was it distinctly advocated in Parliament during his first administration. But the Home Rule spirit was steadily growing at this time. The Irish people had conceived such a thorough mistrust of English justice, that they longed for the right to manage their own affairs. And although their leaders at first professed entire loyalty to the Empire, it became apparent before many years that Home Rule was by many Irishmen considered a step toward a separate national existence.[1]

[1] In the general elections that were held in February, 1874 (p. 304), the Home Rulers obtained 60 seats out of the 103 that belonged to Ireland in the National Parliament. Accordingly, their leader, Isaac Butt, felt justified in demanding Home Rule for Ireland, which he did in a speech delivered in Parliament on March 20, 1874. But in the following sentence, and in others almost equally emphatic, he denied that he and his followers wished to make Ireland an independent nation: "I believe I speak for every member who has been returned for Ireland on the Home Rule principle when I say that we repudiate, in the strongest terms, the slightest wish to break up the unity of the Empire, or to bring about a collision between England and Ireland." Similarly, Mr. O'Brien says, in his "Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland"

Other enlightened measures besides his efforts in behalf of Ireland distinguished Mr. Gladstone's administration. After long negotiation between Great Britain and the United States, the Alabama Claims were finally settled, in 1872, by a court of arbitration which met at Geneva. The amount awarded to the United States was a little over $15,000,000, and was promptly paid. The purchase system in the army was abolished, and the wealthy were no longer able to buy commissions for their sons. Naturally the Lords resisted this reform very fiercely; for the peers expected the army to furnish a career for their younger sons, who were often too devoid of talent or training to secure an army appointment by merit. But the Queen threatened to create new peers, and the Lords gave way. A great protection to the voter was afforded by the adoption of the secret ballot, in 1872. The system then adopted by the Parliamentary and Municipal Elections Bill is practically the same that is known in America as the Australian Ballot system. Such a system seems to be necessary in all countries that have an extended suffrage, in order that the poor may cast their vote without intimidation. Mr. Gladstone also gave his attention to educational affairs. Such religious tests as still remained at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were removed; steps were taken toward opening the schools to all and making attendance compulsory. This was a much needed reform; for education had been largely in the hands of the Established Church, and it was by no means free to all. But the nation was still to wait many years for a fully developed and complete system of national education.

But the nation wearied of Mr. Gladstone's tireless pace as a reformer. His majority in the House of Commons dwindled. In March, 1873, he was defeated in attempting to pass a bill granting better educational advantages to the Irish. He resigned, but assumed office again when Mr. Disraeli declined to form a ministry. But in January, 1874, the Queen, at his

(II. 427), "The masses of the Irish people are disposed to be loyal to the English connection; . . . they appreciate its value and desire its preservation." But the truth of these utterances may be questioned. They are contradicted by the violent deeds and the rancorous expressions of the peasantry, many of whom are filled with bitter hatred toward England, and do not hesitate to avow opinions which their leaders consider it impolitic to publish.

suggestion, dissolved Parliament. The elections showed a Conservative majority of about fifty, and Mr. Disraeli came into power.

This adroit politician had no thought of keeping the nation in the path of domestic progress. He thoroughly understood the temper of the Conservative party, and he was determined to win its entire devotion by a showy and dazzling foreign policy. Yet some minor reforms were accomplished ere home questions were abandoned in favor of the more imposing interests of empire. Church patronage was abolished in Scotland. Laws were passed to check the practices of the ritualists of the Established Church. Above all, through the exertions of Mr. Plimsoll, British seamen were protected from serving in "floating coffins," as unseaworthy and overloaded vessels were called. But such matters as these were to Mr. Disraeli tame and uninteresting. He wished to strengthen and extend the British Empire, and to impress the world with a sense of its greatness. With this object in view he had the title Empress of India bestowed upon Queen Victoria; and the Prince of Wales visited India, in 1875, to show the splendor and magnificence of English royalty.

For a long time England had suspected Russia of designs upon her Indian possessions, and this suspicion Disraeli used adroitly to further his imperial scheme. He took the ground that Russia was England's natural enemy. Russian advance upon India must be prevented; the long-established policy of supporting the Turk as a barrier to Russian aggression must be maintained. Accordingly, when the Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria, in 1875, caused universal indignation, Disraeli and the Conservatives made light of them; and Russia's attempt to reduce the Turk to submission only excited their hostility. In vain did Mr. Gladstone expose the horrible barbarities of the Turk. He roused the moral sentiment of the English people, but he could make no impression on the Conservative majority in the House of Commons. The Conservatives sympathized with the Turk rather than with Russia; and when Turkey was thoroughly vanquished, they wished to prevent Russia from reaping the fruits of victory. In 1878 a congress met at Berlin to settle the questions that had arisen from the Russo-Turkish War. Lord Beaconsfield (Mr. Disraeli had

been created Earl of Beaconsfield in 1876), accompanied by Lord Salisbury, attended it to represent England's interests; and there he did everything he could to protect Turkey and humiliate Russia. He kept Eastern Rumelia under Turkish suzerainty, thus establishing the Balkans as Turkey's northern boundary against the wish of the other powers; he accepted the Turkish promises to make reforms and to grant religious liberty as if they were really made in sincerity; and by a secret agreement with Turkey he secured for England the control of Cyprus, though the island was still to be regarded as an integral part of the Turkish Empire.

Returning to England from the Berlin Congress, Lord Beaconsfield announced that he brought back "peace with honor." His reception was enthusiastic. He had become the idol of his party. He therefore adhered to his showy imperial policy and allowed it to involve England in several costly and unjustifiable wars. Ever since the disaster of the Khyber Pass, in 1842, England had cultivated friendly relations with Afghanistan, with a view to keeping that country out of Russian control. This wise policy Lord Beaconsfield reversed. He deliberately picked a quarrel with the Afghans toward the end of 1878, and forced that unfortunate people into a war of self-defence. Their country was overrun with British troops. Their Ameer abdicated, leaving the land a prey to anarchy. They were forced to submit to British rule. The British took possession of the important stronghold of Herat; and Lord Beaconsfield triumphantly announced that England commanded "the great gates to India." But the moral sense of the English nation had been shocked by this wicked war, in which $80,000,000 had been squandered and 50,000 lives thrown away. The policy which had caused this waste of men and money was to receive a crushing rebuke in the approaching elections.

The war with the Transvaal in South Africa had no better excuse than that with Afghanistan. The Transvaal is a republic containing about 50,000 Dutch Boers and 1,000,000 negroes. In its vicinity were three other European States, Cape Colony and Natal under British rule, and the Orange Free State, which, like the Transvaal, was independent. It was Lord Beaconsfield's policy to unite all these States into a

confederation, and to this end the Transvaal was annexed to England in 1877. True, the annexation was called for by a few of the Boers; but the President and the popular Assembly of the Republic protested against it. Finding their protests of no avail, they took up arms for their independence, in 1879. They proved themselves valiant fighters; and when the Liberals came into power they had to consider whether the strength of England should be used to crush this brave little people.

The same policy that tried to annex the Transvaal brought on a conflict with the friendly Zulus. To carry out the plan of confederation, England purchased Delagoa Bay from Portugal for $3,000,000, and coveted Lucia Bay to the south of it, which the Zulus owned. Their chief, Cetewayo, had always shown a liking for the English. None the less Sir Bartle Frere, who had been sent to South Africa to carry out Lord Beaconsfield's schemes, made war upon him. Cetewayo's country was invaded toward the end of 1878, but the English had underrated their savage antagonist. They met with one or two disasters, and, in 1879, Sir Garnet Wolseley was sent to South Africa to subdue the defiant chief. He soon succeeded. Cetewayo was captured, and the Zulu war, after costing over $20,000,000, was brought to an end.

In spite of severe arraignments by Mr. Gladstone and others, Lord Beaconsfield kept his majority in the House of Commons. But early in 1880 Parliament was dissolved, and the Conservatives were overwhelmingly defeated in the elections. In the new House of Commons there were but 240 Conservatives against 342 Liberals and 63 Home Rulers. In this striking manner did the nation express its condemnation of Lord Beaconsfield's imperial policy with its wicked waste of blood and treasure.

Mr. Gladstone had abandoned the leadership of the Liberal party, after retiring from office in 1874. But the election meant that the country demanded his guidance, and no one else would have been able to form a Cabinet. He was made Prime Minister for the second time; but his task was not an easy one. The British troops were to be withdrawn from Afghanistan, — a step made necessary by English feeling, yet none the less galling to the national pride. The claim of the Boers was to be faced. Egyptian affairs were assuming a

troublesome aspect. The Irish were clamoring for further relief; and various measures of domestic reform were urgently demanded.

Mr. Gladstone's government did not shrink from these troublesome questions. In spite of the protests of the Indian army officers, the English troops were withdrawn from Afghanistan. The Transvaal was restored to the Boers, even though they had just inflicted a signal defeat upon the British at Majuba Hill. According to England's traditional policy, a victorious enemy must be humbled before peace can be made with him. But to his lasting honor Mr. Gladstone granted the Boers their independence (subject to England's suzerainty in negotiations with foreign powers) without first attempting to wipe out the disgrace of defeat by a needless victory. But Egyptian and Irish affairs were not thus easily settled. Even at the close of the century they still wait for a permanent solution.

The Irish question assumed a new aspect in 1876. In that year the Irish members of Parliament who advocated Home Rule formed themselves into a solid phalanx, and aggressively demanded the redress of their country's wrongs. Their leader was Charles Stewart Parnell,[1] a man of intrepid courage, rare organizing ability, and first-rate power in debate. His control over his followers was absolute. Under his direction the Home Rulers acted as one and became a formidable body of obstructionists in Parliament. But during Lord Beaconsfield's rule they accomplished little besides making themselves a nuisance to both parties. When Mr. Gladstone came into power, their prospects brightened. That he would do something to relieve the Irish peasantry seemed certain. Yet it was some time before he was ready to grant the demands of the Home Rulers. The Irish were distressed and unfortunate, but they were also lawless. Agrarian crime seemed to be increasing. The peasants murdered their landlords and maimed their cattle. The Irish Land League, founded by Mr. Parnell in 1879, did not try to suppress these outrages, and it encouraged the tenant to avoid paying his rent by every possible means. This condition of affairs naturally inclined even a

[1] Mr. Isaac Butt was the nominal leader of the Irish Liberals till 1879, and William Shaw for a short time after that.

Liberal Government to employ force to suppress disorder; and this inclination was strengthened by the famous Phœnix Park tragedy, that occurred in 1882. On May 6 of that year Lord Frederick Cavendish, Chief Secretary of Ireland, and his assistant, Mr. Burke, were murdered in Phœnix Park, at Dublin, by Irish assassins. The crime caused intense indignation throughout England, and the leaders of the Land League felt called upon to denounce it. Even so, Mr. Gladstone considered that the state of Ireland called for martial law. A severe Coercion Act was passed, and the knife of the assassin was met by the bayonet of the constabulary. But justice as well as force was meted out. The Land Law of 1870 had failed to bring much relief, because tenants could contract themselves out of its operation; and that they often did so contract themselves at the instigation of their landlords was a natural consequence. Moreover, the sales of land to tenants under the provisions of this act had not been extensive. Mr. Gladstone accordingly brought in a new and more sweeping measure in 1881. To tenants wishing to buy their holdings it advanced three fourths of the purchase money; and courts were established to regulate rents and prevent them from becoming excessive.

But these liberal concessions did not win Mr. Gladstone the support of Parnell and his followers. The Home Rulers in Parliament were made angry by the Coercion Act, which they bitterly opposed when it was passed through Parliament. And some of them came into direct collision with the Government; for the Land League, to which they all belonged, adopted such violent methods of agitation that it was pronounced illegal. Parnell himself was for a time lodged in jail. But gradually Mr. Gladstone's views upon the Irish question underwent a change. He saw that violence was not cured by force, and he lost his faith in coercion. He secured the repeal of the drastic act of repression which he had believed necessary; and as time passed he learned to regard conciliation as the only means of keeping Ireland loyal to the Empire.

The origin of the troubles in Egypt seemed to date back to the construction of the Suez Canal. Lord Palmerston had, with remarkable foresight, seen that England would inevitably

become the largest owner of the canal, and would thereby be led into undesirable complications in regard to Egyptian affairs. He was therefore heartily opposed to the construction of the canal, not realizing its strategic importance. Exactly what he prophesied came to pass. In 1875 the shares in the canal owned by the Khedive of Egypt were purchased by the British Government. From this time on England had a vital interest in the canal, and hence in Egypt. And this interest was increased when British capitalists loaned money again and again to the moribund Egyptian Government. The interest on the loans was not paid; and England assumed control of Egyptian finances in order to protect its bondholders.[1] France coöperated with England in the matter; but the Egyptians took it hard that their revenues should be managed by foreign powers. In 1882 Arabi Pasha, the Egyptian Minister of War, headed a revolt against the English and French supremacy. His party raised the cry, "Egypt for the Egyptians," and for a time showed itself formidable. It even ventured to attack the English fleet which was lying off Alexandria; and, on July 11, 1882, Alexandria was bombarded by the English and reduced to submission. Two months later, Arabi was defeated by the British forces at Tel-el-Kebir. Thus the country passed under English control, and it remained so. Great Britain, having taken possession of Egypt, did not see her way clear to withdraw from the country, though she had given the powers assurance that her occupation would be temporary.

Mr. Gladstone's Government was sharply criticised for the bombardment of Alexandria.[2] Yet a long series of events seemed to make this action necessary. No doubt Egyptian finances have been manipulated too much in the interests of English bondholders; but Egypt has, in the end, benefited from English rule. Her affairs have been brought into order; the English supremacy is a protection to the fellaheen against the robbery and oppression of native governments. But the needless death of General Gordon will always be a reflection

[1] Consult "Spoiling the Egyptians," by J. Seymour Keay.

[2] John Bright resigned his position in the Cabinet because he differed with his colleagues on their Egyptian policy and on Home Rule for Ireland, which Mr. Gladstone now advocated.

upon the feebleness of the Liberal foreign policy. This daring adventurer undertook, on his own responsibility, to restore order in the Soudan. But when he was cooped up in Khartum, a relief expedition was sent to rescue him. To the profound sorrow of the whole English nation it arrived just too late. Khartum fell into the hands of the Mahdi[1] in January, 1885. Gordon was slain; and the English abandoned the Soudan to the Mahdi and his followers.

In 1884 the great question of electoral franchise was again revived, for not yet had the suffrage been so far extended as to satisfy the demands of the nation. By the Reform Act of 1832 the middle classes were enfranchised; by that of 1867 the right to vote was given quite extensively to workingmen in cities and boroughs; but laborers in small towns and villages and in rural districts were still without the suffrage. It was to relieve the latter class that Mr. Gladstone passed the Electoral Bill of 1884.[2] By this measure 2,000,000 workingmen were endowed with the franchise, and the number of voters in the kingdom was brought to about 6,000,000. Thus, the results which the Duke of Wellington and his political allies feared have gradually been brought about. The English political edifice now rests practically upon a basis of universal suffrage, and the government of the country is no longer in the hands of a privileged class. Leadership, however, still belongs to the men who, by reason of ability, education, social influence, and political experience, are best fitted to lead. Not yet has Great Britain experienced the full force of the levelling tendencies of democracy. Her civil service has not been corrupted by the spoils system; her finances are not controlled by the untrained masses; her laws are not framed at the insti-

[1] In 873 the last Mohammed of the family of Ali disappeared in a cave and was never seen again. His reappearance as El Mahdi (the leader) has been expected by many Mussulmans. In 1880 a Mussulman named Mohammed Achmet claimed to be El Mahdi, and obtained a vast following among the dervishes of the Soudan. He is usually termed "the Mahdi," but he was a thorough impostor, licentious, arrogant, and cruel. See Slatin Pasha's "With Fire and Sword in the Soudan."

[2] This franchise extension bill was stoutly opposed by the Conservatives, and their objections to it were not without weight. Lord Salisbury claimed that it would merge the rural constituencies in a vast mass of urban electors and obliterate the distinction between the rural and urban parts of the country. — F. S. Pulling's "Life and Speeches of Lord Salisbury," II. 195-197.

gation of the lobby; her diplomats are not appointed for party reasons. Her government is, accordingly, one of the most admirably conducted that the world has ever seen. Whether it will continue to be so if the professional politician thrusts aside the statesman, and the caucus exercises its pernicious sway, the future has yet to show. Undoubtedly the franchise will in time be extended to all; but it is to be hoped that universal suffrage will educate rather than impair the sturdy sense of the English people, and will complete rather than undermine the political edifice which six centuries have reared.

But by this time the Liberal majority had dwindled, and, on June 9, 1885, Mr. Gladstone was defeated on a question of revenue. As Lord Beaconsfield had died in 1881, Lord Salisbury, the recognized head of the Conservative party, was made Prime Minister without an appeal to the country. His short term of office was signalized by a further relief act for the Irish tenants. A new Land Bill was brought in by Lord Ashbourne, which allowed peasants the long term of forty-nine years for buying their holdings, and advanced to them all the purchase money. This act was better planned than either of those passed by Mr. Gladstone; and under it the sale of land to the Irish tenants greatly increased.

Lord Salisbury's ministry only lasted till January, 1886. A dissolution of Parliament was followed by a Liberal victory; and, on February 1, 1886, Mr. Gladstone was for the third time made Prime Minister. His majority was considerable, 331 Liberals having been returned against 249 Conservatives. But his term of office was brief. He had been thoroughly converted to Home Rule for Ireland, but his party would not follow him on this burning question, which caused a split in the Liberal ranks. For those who still accepted Mr. Gladstone's leadership were now termed Gladstonians, while those who opposed him on the Home Rule question took the name of Liberal Unionists.

It was in vain that Mr. Gladstone appealed to the country. The election returned 310 Conservatives and 73 Liberal-Unionists against 196 Gladstonians and 95 Parnellites. Lord Salisbury was again called upon to form a Cabinet. The Conservatives seemed as strongly intrenched in power as they

were when Lord Beaconsfield's showy policy for a time captivated the nation.

But this policy could not be revived, even though the Conservatives had a large majority in the House of Commons. Imperialism had not gone by, but it had become greatly modified. England was bent on maintaining the power and greatness of her Empire; but she could no longer venture upon wars of aggression. The sentiment of the whole civilized world was turning against war. The Conservatives as well as the Liberals were desirous of avoiding it. Moreover, the living questions of the day imperatively demanded attention. The Conservatives could not ignore them even if they would. Education, the relations of labor and capital, local government, and similar matters forced themselves upon the notice of the nation's lawmakers. No party that neglected these questions could long maintain itself in power.

Hence the closing years of the century witness a great change in the policy of the Conservative party. Toward Home Rule it has remained utterly antagonistic. In other matters it is almost as ready for change as the Liberals themselves, the Radicals being excepted. Evidence of this change we find in the acts of Lord Salisbury's administration. It still maintained a repressive policy toward Ireland. In 1887 the National League was proclaimed dangerous; and a new Coercion Act was passed in order to repress agrarian disturbances. Toward Parnell himself, moreover, the Conservatives showed themselves bitter and contemptuous. The *London Times* brought grave charges against him and published letters, apparently in Parnell's own handwriting, to sustain them. He was accused of countenancing the Phœnix Park murders in 1882, and of secretly fomenting crime and sedition. These charges the Conservatives believed; but a commission appointed to investigate them proved that the letters published by the *Times* were a forgery, and that the gravest of the charges were without foundation.

But, aside from its attitude toward Irish affairs, Lord Salisbury's administration showed itself liberal and progressive. In 1887 it passed a measure to relieve the laboring classes, called the Allotment Act. The measure provided that whenever laborers could not procure land at a fair rent by private

arrangement, allotments, not exceeding one acre for an individual, should be made them by the State. In 1889 an act was passed to protect children from cruelty, neglect, and abuse. And in 1891 was passed an act to further elementary education. This was a very important measure, and was in line with the educational legislation of the preceding twenty years. England was slowly learning to make education universal and compulsory. Yet the problem was not a simple or an easy one. The Church maintained schools which asked a small fee and which emphasized religious instruction. The State, in providing free schools, could not ignore the Church schools, which had long done such excellent service; but how far it should help them was a perplexing question, not to be solved immediately and sure to call forth long and heated discussion. The act of 1891 was designed to provide free school accommodation wherever necessary; but, in order to avoid friction, such education was not immediately made compulsory.

During this Conservative administration occurred the death of a Liberal leader who for fifty years had proved himself a stanch friend of democracy, and who deserves more than a passing notice in a history of England during the nineteenth century. For John Bright admirably embodied the best traits of the Anglo-Saxon temper. Sturdy, upright, fearless, and plain-spoken, he became the acknowledged champion of the English workingmen, and throughout his long life he espoused their cause with unswerving fidelity to principle. Born in 1811, he became, about 1840, a distinguished advocate of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and from that time to the end of his life he labored devotedly for reform. Again and again did his voice ring out on the platform and in the House of Commons in behalf of the poor, the suffering, and the victims of unjust legislation. Electoral reform found in him one of its most earnest supporters; and as a member of the Society of Friends he hated war and rebuked it on every possible occasion. Yet so great was his abhorrence of slavery that he was an ardent friend of the American Union when it was imperilled by civil conflict. As an orator he possessed uncommon powers, and the "lava flow" of his speech often thrilled his audiences and filled them with his own enthusiasm. But he never used these splendid gifts to further selfish ambition. For two gen-

erations he rebuked injustice, shams, and intrigue, and held up the noblest ideals of national greatness before his countrymen. England has had far greater political leaders than he, but none that have surpassed him in purity of aim and lofty patriotism. He died in London on March 27, 1889.

In spite of the progressive course which the Conservatives pursued under Lord Salisbury, the sentiment of the nation seemed to turn toward Mr. Gladstone. Parliament was dissolved in June, 1892, and the Gladstonians gained a victory, though by no means a decisive one. In the new House of Commons they had a majority of forty-two, so long as the Home Rulers voted with them. But the Home Rulers were divided. Mr. Parnell died in 1892, after losing much of his power and influence through his connection with a disgraceful scandal; and the leadership of the Irish Liberals, even before his death, had passed to Mr. Justin McCarthy. But a small faction of Home Rulers clung to the memory of their departed leader, refused to follow Mr. McCarthy, and called themselves Parnellites. Between these two factions much bitter feeling existed; and under these circumstances Lord Salisbury did not recognize defeat and did not retire from office because of the result of the elections. But the Home Rulers, in spite of their dissension, combined with the Gladstonians to overthrow him. He was forced to resign, and Mr. Gladstone was for the fourth time made Prime Minister. He was now eighty-two years old; and, though remarkably vigorous, he was bent upon accomplishing one thing only before closing his long parliamentary career. He wished to crown his services to his country by securing Home Rule for Ireland. Accordingly, he brought in an elaborate bill to that end in April, 1893. It resembled the one he had presented in 1886; but in this second bill he allowed the Irish members to sit in the Imperial Parliament and to vote on national as distinguished from Scotch and English affairs. The bill passed the Commons after long discussion, but was overwhelmingly defeated in the House of Lords. It seemed impossible to coerce the Lords, for Mr. Gladstone did not really have the English nation behind him. A majority of the English and Scotch members of the House of Commons were opposed to Home Rule. Hence there was no public sentiment that would warrant the creation of new

peers in sufficient numbers to pass Mr. Gladstone's bill. Yet the political character of the Upper House invited serious reflection and called forth much hostile criticism. The peers represented a class rather than the nation. They were never in sympathy with progressive and liberal legislation, but only accepted it as a necessity. The Home Rule Bill was not popular with the English people; still, it had passed the House of Commons. In the House of Lords only 41 voted for it, while its opponents numbered 419. Such a vote seemed to show that the Lords were not in touch with the voters of the nation. A reform in the character of the Upper House seemed therefore necessary, and was loudly demanded. Yet how to accomplish it was a difficult question. The House of Lords has had a great and splendid history, and, though it often delays, it never thwarts the legislation that is imperatively demanded by the nation. Few would be willing to see it abolished, and no one can say just how its powers should be curtailed. Hence, in spite of severe and frequent criticism, it remains unchanged.[1]

As his majority was small and dependent upon the Home Rulers, and as the Lords were so thoroughly hostile, Mr. Gladstone did not appeal to the country. The question of Home Rule was quietly abandoned in spite of the protests of the Irish members. That it will soon be revived again in Parliament seems improbable. Yet Mr. Gladstone had set the English nation an ideal of justice toward Ireland which it cannot lose sight of and toward which it will surely grow. Not till it has done so will Irish discontent be appeased.[2]

In March, 1894, Mr. Gladstone resigned, owing to the formation of a cataract in his eyes. A successful operation restored his sight; but he did not reënter public life. His retirement was deeply mourned and was to his party an irreparable loss. To choose a successor to him was by no means easy, for no other Liberal leader was conspicuous above his colleagues for ability and influence. No one else, it was prophesied, could maintain the small Liberal majority in the House of Commons. A very slight disaffection would result in the defeat of the

[1] For an able defence of the House of Lords, see Pulling's "Life and Speeches of Lord Salisbury," II. 223–230.

[2] O'Brien's "Fifty Years of Concession to Ireland" (II. 425) contains this significant utterance: "Sufficient measures have not yet been taken to obliterate the memory of the conquest from their (*i.e.* the Irish) minds."

Government. And the Irish Liberals were already becoming discontented; for they thought the Home Rule question was not receiving due consideration. It was a discouraging task, therefore, that awaited the new Liberal leader; and so Lord Rosebery, who was elected to fill the vacant post, found it to be. The Queen appointed him Prime Minister; but, being a peer, he could not sit in the House of Commons and direct his party there. Yet he performed his difficult duties with no little skill. For more than a year he kept the Liberals in power, and had many useful and progressive measures passed through Parliament. Among them was a bill to establish a Local Government Board for Scotland; for the Scotch as well as the Irish had become desirous of managing their own affairs. But in June, 1895, the Government was defeated on a question of army estimates. Lord Rosebery resigned, Lord Salisbury was for the third time made Prime Minister, and Parliament was dissolved.

In the elections which followed the Liberals met with a most disastrous defeat. Only 177 Gladstonians and 82 Irish Liberals were elected, against 340 Conservatives and 71 Liberal Unionists. Thus the Conservatives, with the aid of the Liberal Unionists, had a clear majority of 152. No party had won such a sweeping victory since 1832, when the excitement over the Reform Bill enabled the Liberals to carry everything before them.

The reasons for the Liberal discomfiture cannot be stated with certainty, but apparently the following causes contributed to bring it about: (1) Mr. Gladstone's retirement from politics and the consequent mistrust of the Liberal policy; (2) the increased readiness of the Conservatives to legislate in domestic affairs; (3) a growing disposition among the British people to love power and dominion, and to regard the Conservative party as a means of obtaining it; (4) indifference on the part of the newly enfranchised working-classes to the ideals of the Liberal leaders and thinkers.[1]

Lord Salisbury's administration was not in the end successful. He was not a great leader or a great executive. He

[1] The causes of the apathy of the Liberals and vigor of the Conservatives are ably discussed in a London letter to the *New York Nation* for January 28, 1897.

lacked the energy and the intrepidity which characterized Lord Palmerston; he had not the intellectual breadth or the moral elevation of Mr. Gladstone. In no direction did he show great vigor and ability; and his foreign policy was so timid and cautious as to give offence even to his own party. He soon found himself confronted with problems of a peculiarly difficult and delicate character, — problems which would have taxed the resources of a statesman of first-rate genius, and which proved too formidable for Lord Salisbury's astute but halting diplomacy. In handling them he gradually lost the confidence of the nation.

In 1894 and 1895 terrible massacres were perpetrated by the Turks in Armenia. At first only vague rumors of these barbarous deeds were circulated, and they were received with mistrust. But authentic tidings not only confirmed the first reports, but gave revolting details which sent a thrill of indignation over the whole civilized world. Plainly the Turk was at his old game of robbery, indecency, and murder, which he had played with delight for centuries. Moreover, it was clearly shown that the massacres were planned at the Sultan's palace in Constantinople with a view to exterminating the unhappy Armenian people, whom the Turks thoroughly detest. The more fully the circumstances of the murders were known, the more atrocious did they appear. In England they occasioned great excitement and called forth demands that the Government should put a stop to the outrages at any cost. Mr. Gladstone appeared in public to lift up his voice once more against Turkish iniquity and to denounce the régime at Constantinople as the "scandal of the world." But many who thoroughly disliked the Turk believed that England ought not to act alone or hastily in bringing his barbarities to an end. Lord Rosebery was of this opinion, and ultimately he resigned the leadership of the Liberal party because he found himself out of sympathy with its views upon this question. Lord Salisbury himself approached the matter slowly and with an apparent sense of powerlessness. At first he declared that England could do nothing for the Armenians, and hinted vaguely at the need of Turkish reforms. No other power seemed able and willing to take the matter in hand, so the Turk went on uninterrupted in his wicked work. Thousands

more of Armenians were butchered in 1896. The prospects of this unhappy people seemed dark enough; for even the efforts which Lord Salisbury finally made in their behalf were showy and pretentious rather than effective. He endeavored to bring about a concert of the great European powers against the Sultan, and in spite of serious obstacles he succeeded after much negotiation. Russia was at first very unwilling to threaten the Turk with force; and merely to ply him with moral suasion was an utter farce. But the Tsar finally conceded the point, and by January, 1897, Lord Salisbury had won what was at the time considered a considerable diplomatic triumph. The Sultan was informed that the bloody work of exterminating the Armenians must come to an end, or the powers would put a stop to it by armed force. But that the Sultan will long be restrained by the menace is not probable. He well knows how unwilling the powers would be to carry out their threat and to depose him at the risk of exciting fierce jealousies, and, possibly, of bringing on a general European war. Accordingly, after the lapse of forty years, the folly of the Crimean War had received a striking demonstration. By sustaining the Turk in 1855, England had made it difficult to coerce him in 1897. Yet difficult as was the task, there were many Englishmen who did not consider it impossible. There were many who agreed with Mr. Gladstone rather than with Lord Rosebery and Lord Salisbury, and who claimed that it was England's right and duty to enforce the provisions of the Anglo-Turkish Convention of 1878. In that Convention, arranged at the Berlin Congress (p. 304), Turkey had agreed to carry out such reforms as England demanded; and England would have been fully justified in compelling the Sultan to live up to this agreement. Had she boldly and fearlessly taken this stand, there is no likelihood that the great powers of Europe would have felt that the Turkish possession of Constantinople was menaced, and would have ventured to interfere. The fear of applying force to Turkey and of bringing on a gigantic war has become the nightmare of European diplomacy.

In 1896 the British Government was drawn into another entanglement with the South African Republic. Rich gold mines exist in the territory of this Boer State, and in their

vicinity thriving communities have sprung up with wonderful rapidity. Yet to the inhabitants of these communities, who are largely English and who bear the name of Uitlanders (that is, Outlanders), the Boers would grant no political rights whatever. The control of their rich country they desire to keep entirely in their own hands, no matter though they become a small minority of its population. Naturally this state of things was galling to the new settlers. In particular the rich and growing city of Johannesburg, in the heart of the mining district, was full of malcontents; for its people were heavily taxed to support a state which would not give them citizenship. A conspiracy was therefore framed to overthrow the Boer Government, and bring the South African Republic under British rule. The seat of the conspiracy was Johannesburg; but it was known to Englishmen of high position in South Africa, and possibly to the colonial office in London. Cecil Rhodes, Prime Minister of Cape Colony, was privy to it; his friend, Dr. Jameson, with the cognizance of Mr. Rhodes, as it proved, attempted to bring the conspiracy to a successful termination. On December 29, 1895, he entered the South African Republic with seven hundred men. The Boers, under the lead of their President, Paul Kruger, successfully resisted the invading force. Dr. Jameson, after losing a large number of his followers, was obliged to surrender. President Kruger delivered his prisoners to the British authorities for trial and punishment; and Dr. Jameson and five of his foremost assistants were taken to England and there convicted and sentenced to imprisonment. Dr. Jameson's term was fifteen months; that of the others from ten to five months. But the Boers themselves arrested and tried a number of Uitlanders who had organized and abetted the conspiracy. Four, including the brother of Cecil Rhodes, were condemned to death, and sixty others were sentenced to a fine and to imprisonment for two years. But President Kruger mitigated all these sentences. All of those convicted were finally released on payment of a heavy fine.

One principal offender, however, was still unpunished. Cecil Rhodes was beyond question deeply implicated in the conspiracy, and President Kruger demanded that the British Government should bring him also to justice. It was difficult

to resist the demand; even more difficult to comply with it. England naturally preferred to use Mr. Rhodes in extending her power in South Africa rather than to punish him as a criminal. But early in 1897 he sailed to the mother-country to meet whatever fate might await him. His fate, however, was not an unhappy one. He was received more like a hero than a criminal; and the parliamentary committee appointed to investigate Dr Jameson's raid was dominated by Mr. Rhodes's strong personality, and its proceedings were little better than a farce. Certain important cablegrams had passed between Mr. Rhodes and others in South Africa and persons in England who were in his confidence. But these cablegrams the committee of investigation would not call for; nor would it follow up any clews that might possibly lead to Mr. Chamberlain and the colonial office.[1] So its final report, which censured no one in high station, commanded no respect. Mr. Rhodes returned to South Africa without loss of prestige; the colonial office remained suspected, but not convicted, of complicity in the raid.

But England's operations in Africa at this period were not confined to the region of Boers and gold mines. The occupation of Egypt (p. 309) finally led to an invasion of the Soudan; for it seemed best to bring this vast tract once more under the reign of law and order. The task was rendered more easy by the death of the Mahdi, in 1885. His successor had not the same influence over the dervishes that the Mahdi himself had had; and the English troops penetrated the Soudan and captured its strongholds without serious difficulty.

Hardly less serious, for a brief period more serious, than the troubles that arose in South Africa and in Egypt was the difficulty with the United States over the Venezuela question. The boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela had never been determined. The British claimed large tracts

[1] Mr. Chamberlain himself appeared before the investigating committee and declared in the most positive manner that he had no previous knowledge of the raid and no suspicion of it till the day before it took place. There seems to be no good reason why this statement should not be believed, coming as it does from a man of Mr. Chamberlain's position. But that there were persons in England who were acquainted with Mr. Rhodes's plans can hardly be doubted; and the production of the cablegrams would have shown who they were.

which the Venezuelans considered part of their own territory. In some of these tracts British citizens had settled in pursuance of the mining industry; and these lands Great Britain was disposed to appropriate, in order to give her own subjects ample protection. Against such appropriation Venezuela protested; and the United States claimed that Great Britain could not set aside Venezuela's protest without violating the Monroe Doctrine. The Government of the United States entered into long negotiations with the British Government regarding the matter; but for some time diplomacy accomplished nothing. Lord Salisbury held that the nations of Europe were in no way bound to recognize the Monroe Doctrine; and he was thoroughly disinclined to settle the disputed question by arbitration, as the United States desired. His attitude caused President Cleveland to take a bold stand in his message to Congress in December, 1895. So defiant was the President's tone toward Great Britain that for a short time war between the two countries seemed a possibility. But Lord Salisbury, always timid in the face of a storm, finally agreed to submit the difficulty with Venezuela to arbitration, a satisfactory rule of procedure having been devised. It was decided that British Guiana should be treated as an individual, and that its claims to territory should be determined by the length of time they had been allowed to pass without question, as would those of an individual in court of law. And not only was this peaceable solution of a troublesome question found, but an arbitration treaty between Great Britain and the United States was formulated. It provided that all disputes between the two countries should be settled by a court of arbitration; and if it had been adopted, this treaty would have made war, the traditional resort of nations that disagree, wellnigh impossible. But unfortunately it was rejected by the United States Senate. Although this peaceable adjustment of the Venezuela difficulty was only accomplished by concessions to the United States, it was undoubtedly agreeable to the people of Great Britain; and it subjected the Government to no serious criticism. But new troubles arose which had to be faced with courage and consummate statecraft, and which afforded the Liberals many opportunities for faultfinding. In particular, two of the continental nations gave England much uneasiness by their aggressive

foreign policy, and threatened her with loss of territory and of trade. For France encroached upon Great Britain's African domains, and Russia began to be grasping and dangerous in the far East.

It was in the region of the river Niger that British and French interests clashed. France persisted in occupying country which Great Britain claimed, and was loath to heed the protests of Lord Salisbury's Government. The French Government made promises, indeed, that England's rights should be respected; but the promises were not kept, and French posts were still maintained where England claimed sole possession. Hence England's position became difficult and embarrassing. It was hardly worth while to go to war over the disputed territory; yet where would French aggression end if it were not stopped? There was much negotiation between the Governments of the two countries over these African difficulties; and it was finally decided that each of them should appoint commissioners to meet in Paris and settle all African boundary disputes. The commissioners met, considered carefully the claims of the two nations, and, on June 14, 1898, they signed a convention which promised to bring the disputes over the Niger region to an end. France was, on the whole, the gainer by the agreement, as her West African possessions were increased. At the same time Egypt was recognized as a British possession; and nearly all of the southern third of the continent, from Lake Tanganyika to Cape Town, was considered British soil.

The agreement would have been more satisfactory to the British Government if it had provided the means for connecting Egypt with South Africa. For this is one of England's cherished schemes. She has pushed northward from Cape Colony and southward through the Soudan; and she would fain acquire enough territory in Central Africa to make her domains stretch uninterruptedly from the Nile Delta to the Cape of Good Hope. This plan has captivated the mind of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who hopes to see these two distant points of African territory united by a railroad.[1] But the Congo Free

[1] It is possible that this ambitious project covers still larger designs. Those who have studied English diplomacy carefully believe that England never loses sight of Constantinople, and that in consolidating her power in and

State and the German possessions in East Africa stand in the way of the realization of this project; and it conflicts also with French territorial schemes. For France desires to make her African empire extend from the western to the eastern coast; and thus she would occupy the very territory which Great Britain needs. Now that the Paris Convention has been signed, there may be no further friction; but before that agreement was made, France showed an unmistakable tendency to encroach upon England's Central African possessions. On September 2, 1898, Sirdar Kitchener annihilated the army of the Khalifa at Omdurman, nearly opposite Khartum on the Nile, and thus nearly completed the conquest of the Soudan (p. 320). But only a day or two after the battle the Sirdar received the important news that Fashoda, a point on the river about six degrees farther south, was occupied by a force of white men. Proceeding southward to investigate, the Sirdar found that the white men were a small body of French soldiers headed by Major Marchand, who had pushed his way westward to this spot from the French Congo. As he had acted under instructions, Major Marchand refused to withdraw at the Sirdar's request. But his action called forth such vigorous protests from Great Britain that the French Government decided to abandon the post. Accordingly, at a banquet given to Lord[1] Kitchener by the Lord Mayor of London on November 5, Lord Salisbury was able to announce that the French would shortly evacuate Fashoda. Thus the unpleasant incident terminated without rupturing the friendship of the two nations; but it well typified the spirit of French aggression. In Madagascar the French showed scant respect for British rights; and the colonists of France manifest a tendency to usurp British soil when opportunity offers.

In the far East Russia has given England cause for uneasiness ever since the close of the war between China and Japan. That struggle showed so strikingly the weakness of the Chinese Empire, that the nations of Europe began to wrest concessions and privileges from the tottering Chinese Government. In

about the Eastern Mediterranean she is preparing for a final move upon the Golden Horn.

[1] For his victory at Omdurman, General Kitchener, who had been knighted after the taking of Dongola in 1896, was made Baron Kitchener of Khartum.

this race for gain Russia played a leading part. First acting in concert with France and Germany, Russia forced Japan to give up the Liao-Tung peninsula, which had been ceded to her at the termination of the war with China as a part of the spoils of victory. This accomplished, Russia next schemed to get possession of Port Arthur, on the extremity of this peninsula, and thus secure on the Pacific a port not ice-bound in the winter. The attempt was successful. On March 27, 1898, this important stronghold was ceded to Russia by China; and the cession was all the more important because Russia had already obtained from China the right to carry the Trans-Siberian railway through Manchuria. Indeed, although the Russian Government still pressed for every possible concession at the Court of Peking, it had obtained what it particularly desired. Always pursuing an exclusive policy, Russia is not satisfied merely to acquire rights in a country. What it wishes is actual annexation and absorption. Consequently, no sooner did it obtain privileges in Manchuria than it quietly proceeded to possess the country. It introduced its own colonists, the region being by no means densely populated,[1] and began to Russianize the province. Hence, having become practically the owner of this rich and fertile country, Russia viewed with unconcern the smaller concessions wrested from China by other European powers.

The powers, however, were not inactive. Finding that Russia had gained Port Arthur, Great Britain, in order to lessen the value of this outlet upon the Pacific, requested China to declare Talien-wan, in the vicinity of Port Arthur, a treaty port. Failing in this, Great Britain secured the port of Wei-Hai-Wei, on a tongue of land over opposite Port Arthur; while Germany seized the harbor of Kiao-Chau, farther south on the Chinese coast, and France obtained the lease of a bay on the southern coast of China and several other substantial concessions.

By obtaining possession of Port Arthur, Russia has become a naval power in the far East, and, in case of a war with Great Britain, she could advance on India by sea as well as by land.

[1] Manchuria has 362,310 square miles and less than 20,000,000 inhabitants. New York State has about one seventh of this area and nearly one third as large a population.

It thus becomes necessary for England to watch Russia's movements with the greatest care; and that she is doing this there is abundant evidence. Moreover, England views with concern the attempts of the continental European nations to grasp portions of Chinese territory; for all the regions thus acquired are likely to be ruled in the interests of the nations that possess them, and to be closed to British trade. This narrow policy is not pursued by the British Government. Great Britain, in acquiring territory, throws it open to other nations for purposes of trade; and she has been anxious that, as Chinese exclusion is overcome and broken down, the riches of this vast country should not become the sole possession of a few grasping nations, but should be available to the whole world. This enlightened view of international commercial relations is termed "the open door" policy; and very naturally it is held by the United States. For until recently the idea of foreign conquest and actual possession of far-away lands has not been cherished by the American mind. But the continental European powers are more inclined to the policy of exclusion than to that of the open door; and England, which is finding Germany a formidable commercial rival, considers the question of maintaining its foreign trade an all-important one.

Thus, the eyes of the English people have been directed toward remote regions, and domestic politics have been overshadowed by foreign complications. Yet the path of internal progress and political reform has not been abandoned, as the statute book conclusively shows. It is impossible to enumerate here all the important legislative acts that have been passed in recent years by the English Parliament; but a few of them may be mentioned, as they serve to show what has already been pointed out (p. 312), that the Conservative party has become exceedingly active in the cause of reform. The suffrage received further extension in 1897 through a bill which gave women owning or renting buildings the right to vote for candidates for Parliament. In the same year additional government aid was granted to elementary education, and compensation was secured to workingmen who received injury while working under certain specified conditions. In the following year the statutes regarding criminal evidence were so revised as to allow an accused person, and also the wife or husband of that

person, to testify for the defence; and local self-government was granted to Ireland by an elaborate and carefully framed measure. By this act the duties of local government are imposed upon bodies popularly elected, as is the usage in England and Scotland, the franchise being in each case the parliamentary franchise with the addition of peers and rate-paying women. That so radical a measure of relief to Ireland should be passed by a Conservative Parliament was a matter of surprise and an interesting commentary upon the shifts and changes of political opinion in a thinking country. Had a Liberal Government proposed a similar measure a quarter of a century earlier, it would have been accused of treason by the Conservative party.

It was unfortunate that the great statesman who had done so much for Ireland did not live to see his own principles vindicated by the passage of this just and enlightened measure. It was not until July 18, 1898, that the bill passed to its third reading; and on May 19 of the same year William Ewart Gladstone died at the age of 88. He was buried in Westminster Abbey at the request of the House of Commons, and his loss was mourned not only by the nation but by the whole civilized world. A fitting tribute was paid him by Mr. Balfour, the Conservative leader of the House of Commons, who pronounced him "the greatest member of the greatest deliberative body which so far the world has seen."

Important as were the legislative acts above enumerated, they did not arouse more interest than a measure appertaining to the Established Church which was passed in 1898. This measure, which was called the Benefices Act, was aimed to rectify abuses in the bestowal of church patronage; but the discussion of it led to a consideration of the extravagant practices of the Ritualists. Sir William Harcourt denounced the Ritualists in the severest terms, declaring that there existed in the Church of England a conspiracy to overthrow the principles of the English Reformation; that priests publicly and secretly violated the oaths they had taken; and that the bishops did not discourage the appointment and promotion of such offenders.

As the Benefices Act was not primarily concerned with the question of ritualistic offences, the accusations of Sir William Harcourt were not wholly called for; at the same time they

were a natural expression of existing feeling. For all England had become excited over the doings of the Ritualists, who not only set the moderate Church party at defiance, but were guilty of illegal conduct. The Church of England being an established church, its form of worship is prescribed by law in the Book of Common Prayer. But the Ritualists have adopted many ecclesiastical practices not authorized by the Book of Common Prayer, and in other ways have refused to admit that the Church is subject to the civil law. This position they maintain in all honesty, and sometimes with entire candor and moderation;[1] but their practices have caused dissension in the Church and have roused vehement hostility among the Dissenters, who are easily swayed by the English hatred of Catholicism. Hence their position has a political bearing, for it has given life to the cause of disestablishment. There is no doubt that the schism in the Church has weakened it in the eyes of the nation; and many, who fear that its ritualistic tendencies will lead its members into the pale of Rome, desire to terminate its political existence. But the memories and traditions of four centuries will not easily die. The Church of England, with its grand historic past, is one of the most splendid and imposing institutions of the world. Even the Dissenters recognize its power and greatness, and the slow, conservative English temper must change essentially before it robs this mighty ecclesiastical edifice of the nation's pledged support.

As the nineteenth century closes, it finds the English nation progressive, vigorous, and great. With wise conservatism it has wrought reforms without losing its moderation and self-control. It has given rights to the many, but it still gives leadership to the few. It has recognized the principles of democracy, but it has clung to aristocratic usage and tradition. Never forgetting that its strength lies in sea-power, it maintains the mightiest navy that the world has ever seen, and abides secure against assault upon its island home. Here, then, is its seat of dominion and the centre of its wide imperial sway. But its sons and daughters seek far lands, increase and multiply, and make jungle, hill, and valley echo with the music of the Saxon tongue. Beneath their civilizing touch new wil-

[1] "The English Church Union Declaration," in the *Contemporary Review* for April, 1899.

dernesses blossom into beauty, new nations rise, new institutions mark the path of progress. And as one Colony after another develops its own vigorous life, the power of England waxes strong and great. For the peoples of these distant countries do not forget their splendid English inheritance, but take increasing pride in their connection with the mother-land.

And thus there is rising up a mighty power whose destiny no man can measure or comprehend. The descent of Hengist and Horsa upon the isle of Britain laid the foundation of a vast political edifice that reaches around the world. Its strength lies in its sincerity. The Anglo-Saxon has always built in a stern and rugged temper, which respected little besides clear-grained human worth. Hence, from the beginning the subject met his king as a peer, despised the mere pomp and show of power, and stubbornly asserted his rights with the sword whenever those rights were denied. And the result of this strong self-assertion was liberty. Through the vicissitudes and the rough experiences of a thousand years the English have been free men. Respecting authority, they have yet been their own masters and have recognized no power that did not spring from the people themselves. So the record of the nineteenth century merely completes the story of a long and splendid career. It shows how the people of England at last came fully into their own.

Great Britain has an area of 120,832 square miles and a population of about 38,000,000. The government is a constitutional monarchy; but the Constitution is unwritten. The sovereign appoints the Prime Minister, assembles and dissolves Parliament, and without the signature of the sovereign the acts of Parliament are not legal. But in all these matters he is but the servant of the people and has no will of his own. His power of creating peers is unrestricted.

The Parliament of the nation consists of the House of Lords and the House of Commons. All of the English peers sit in the House of Lords, and besides them 26 bishops, 16 Scottish peers elected for the duration of Parliament, and 28 Irish peers elected for life. The presiding officer of the House of Lords is the Lord High Chancellor, who is a member of the Cabinet and is always appointed for life.

The House of Commons consists of 670 members. Of these, 495 represent England, 72 Scotland, and 103 Ireland. The only qualification necessary in order to be a member of Parliament is to have reached the age of twenty-one. No peers can be elected to the House of Commons except those of Ireland.

No Parliament can sit longer than seven years. At the end of that time the House of Commons is necessarily dissolved by the sovereign. But the course of events usually brings about a dissolution before the term of seven years has expired.

The executive business of the nation is really performed by the Cabinet, though it is nominally vested in the sovereign. One or two Cabinet offices are filled by peers; the rest by members of the House of Commons, who, after receiving their appointment, must be reëlected by their constituencies.

The Protestant Episcopal Church is the established Church of England. Theoretically, every Englishman is a member of it; but its actual members comprise a little more than half of the population, or about 15,000,000. Its annual income is about $15,000,000. The sovereign is its supreme head. In Scotland the Presbyterian Church is established; but its connection with the government is not close and vital, as it has no bishops to sit in the House of Lords and receive their appointment from the Crown. England is, in proportion to her population, the richest country in the world. Probably her wealth is not less than $60,000,000,000. Her chief source of wealth is her manufactures, which are exported all over the world. And her manufacturing interests have owed their prosperity largely to her vast supply of coal. Such enormous demands have been made upon the supply that the thoughtful minds of the nation have already begun to view with concern the time when it will be exhausted; but that time will not come for many years, and when it does science will possibly have found a substitute for it. The imports of England are even larger than her exports, and consist chiefly of food-stuffs. For England is too densely populated to produce the needed supplies from her own soil.

The annual expenditure has increased all through the century, and has now reached a total of about $500,000,000. Nearly one quarter of this large expenditure is occasioned by

the interest charges upon the national debt, which was brought to the enormous figure of £861,039,049 (or about $4,300,000,000) by the costly Napoleonic wars. But it has been England's policy to reduce the debt every year, and in 1899 it amounted to not very much more than $3,000,000,000. It will be considerably increased, however, by the unfortunate war in South Africa.

Owing to her sea-coast defence, England does not need to maintain a large standing army, but trusts to her navy for protection and for the maintenance of her power. She has a little over 200,000 men under arms, including those who serve in India. Her navy is the largest and strongest in the world, and she spends much energy and money in keeping it so.

CHAPTER V

CANADA

It was a vast and goodly territory that England acquired by Wolfe's victory on the Plains of Abraham in 1759. For, Quebec once captured, all Canada fell inevitably into the hands of its conquerors; and Canada has proved to be one of the richest countries in the world. Its area is nearly as extensive as that of the United States; its mineral and agricultural wealth is almost inexhaustible; its forests will last for centuries.

But at the close of the Seven Years' War this region was sparsely settled and its value was little appreciated. Its inhabitants, exclusive of the Indians, did not number much more than sixty thousand, and their civilization was of a very primitive type. Mostly French and half-breeds, they had had no training whatever in self-government. Canada had yet to acquire the Anglo-Saxon instinct for political development. But this instinct was very soon implanted in the minds of her people. The triumph of the American Colonies in their struggle with the mother-country secured for Canada a large inflow of English-speaking citizens; for the Loyalists, finding their position in the new republic intolerable, emigrated to Canada and Nova Scotia. Altogether some thirty thousand of them found a new home in these regions, where their loyalty to the English flag brought them honor instead of insult. And with their advent the struggle for responsible government really began.

And immigrants came also from the mother-country. New Brunswick was largely settled by the English; and not less than twenty-five thousand Scotch Highlanders found homes in Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton. Therefore, as the population increased, new divisions of the country became necessary. New Brunswick and Cape Breton were made separate provinces in 1784, though the latter district was reunited

to Nova Scotia in 1820; and in 1791 the English Parliament passed an act separating Upper and Lower Canada. Each of these provinces was allowed its own Governor, Legislative Council, and House of Assembly; and the Governor was assisted by an advisory board with executive powers, termed the Executive Council. Quebec was made the capital of Lower Canada. The capital of Upper Canada was at first Magaia and afterward Toronto. Quite a difference there was in the character and population of these two provinces, and it was largely on that account that the separation was made by the English Parliament. For Lower Canada, whose population was almost entirely French, had about 125,000 inhabitants; while in Upper Canada there were scarcely 20,000 people and these were largely English. Thus the English, by being set apart in a province of their own, were protected from French control.

But in the French province, as well as in the English, there was a steady growth toward constitutional government. The French, though at times disaffected, were on the whole loyal to the English Government. This the United States more than once found to its cost. For in the Revolutionary War, and in the War of 1812 the Americans invaded Canada with the expectation of finding its French inhabitants ready to throw off their allegiance to Great Britain. But in each case they were disappointed. None of the French would take the field against their own Government, and some of them fought side by side with the English against the American invaders. Thus the Canadian people grew one in feeling and interest. They were slowly acquiring that national sentiment which is to-day their most striking characteristic.

But it was many years before the Canadas obtained the right to manage their own affairs. Although the people were represented by an Assembly, the Governor, with the help of the Executive and sometimes of the Legislative Council also, usually usurped the power. Hence, government was not carried on without a good deal of friction; for both in Upper and in Lower Canada appeared popular leaders who made a stubborn stand for the rights of the people. Unfortunately, some of these leaders were hot-headed and unable to distinguish between lawful and revolutionary agitation. Hence, in 1837 there broke forth armed rebellion in each of the Canadas; and the upris-

ing was not immediately suppressed. But the home Government dealt leniently with these outbreaks. The people were not made angry and bitter by needlessly harsh treatment; and at this time there appeared upon the scene a man whose influence mightily furthered the cause of responsible government. In 1838 Lord Durham was made Governor-General of Canada. Acute, just, and broad-minded, he was not content with merely suppressing disaffection. He set himself to ascertaining the reasons for it, and the means of bringing it to an end. So he invited the Governors of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island to meet him at Quebec; and in the course of their conference they considered the question of forming all the provinces of British North America into one confederation. The ideas at this time brought forward he introduced in a report to Parliament, which was clear, broad, and masterly. It recommended that the provinces should be brought together by a new legislative union, and that the differences of race and language should thus be superseded by questions of local interest.

For this momentous change Canada was not quite ready, nor did Lord Durham long continue to direct her affairs; for, owing to a disagreement with the home Government, he resigned his office after holding it for only six months. But his influence upon the destiny of Canada was lasting; and although many years were to pass by before his scheme could be carried out in full, it had immediate effect upon the two Canadas. In 1841 these two provinces were united into one, and were placed under the control of a Governor appointed by the Crown, a Legislative Council also chosen by the Crown, and an Assembly of eighty-four members elected by the people. There was also an Executive Council of eight members whom the Governor selected from the Legislative Council and the Assembly. But those appointed from the Assembly were, like the members of the English Cabinet chosen from the House of Commons, obliged to obtain the consent of their constituents by standing again for election. Municipal government also received development at this time; for cities and towns were largely intrusted with the management of their own affairs, instead of being controlled by the Legislature. But the growth in this direction was necessarily slow. The citizens of Canada were for the most part unaccus-

tomed to the New England system of town government; and in some of the provinces the people of the towns were not at all anxious to assume the responsibilities of self-government. New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island were notably backward in this branch of political development.

The capital of the newly constituted province was first established at Kingston, but was moved to Montreal in 1844. But this city did not long retain the distinction thus conferred upon it. In 1850 the Parliament buildings were burned by some indignant members of the Conservative party who were angry with Lord Elgin, the Governor-General. For nearly ten years after this disgraceful event the Parliament sat alternately at Toronto and Quebec; but in 1858, the Queen chose a small village, named Bytown, on the Ottawa River, as its permanent site. Taking now the name of Ottawa, the town steadily grew through its increased importance, and now has a population of fifty thousand.

Meanwhile, nearly all the provinces of Canada had been growing in population, in prosperity, and in institutional life. In 1848, responsible government was adopted in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia; and in 1854 reciprocity in trade was established between Canada and the United States. Thus, developing in every direction, Canada was becoming ready for the next momentous step in her history, that of confederation. The various provinces could not indeed remain separate. For a hundred years they had been passing through a like experience, and under English law had been acquiring the English love of constitutional liberty. That their destinies should now be united seemed, therefore, the logical outcome of events. And in 1867, hardly more than a century after the signing of the Peace of Paris, the union which had been recommended by Lord Durham became an accomplished fact. A conference met at Quebec on October 10, 1864, to consider the question of confederation, and to it all the different provinces, including Newfoundland, sent delegates. After eighteen days of discussion it adopted seventy-two resolutions which were at once accepted by the two Canadas, and, after some hesitation, by New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Newfoundland rejected them, and still remains outside the Confederation. Prince Edward Island was unwilling to approve them at the time; but in the course

of a few years it abandoned its independent attitude and joined the union. The Confederation thus formed was called the Dominion of Canada; and the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada were termed, respectively, Ontario and Quebec.

The British Parliament endorsed the seventy-two resolutions after they had been approved by the provinces, and incorporated most of them in the British North America Act, which established the Confederation and which gives to Canada a written Constitution. For, in uniting, the provinces were obliged to imitate the example of the United States, and base their union upon a written compact instead of depending upon usage and tradition, like the mother-country. But it is to be noticed that the Canadians did not model their Constitution upon that of the United States. In the most important particulars they made it embody English political usage, as will easily be made apparent by a brief statement of its principal features.

I. The executive power is vested in the Crown, which is represented by a Governor-General appointed for five years. This official has full power over the army and navy, and he can give the royal assent to bills passed by the Legislature, withhold it, or reserve it for the signification of the royal pleasure. In the latter case the bill has no force unless the Governor-General signifies the royal assent to it within two years from the day it was presented to him. Even when the Governor-General gives the royal assent to a bill, the act can be annulled by the English sovereign in Council any time within two years after it has been received by the royal Secretary of State. The Governor-General also has the power of appointing the Lieutenant-Governors of the different provinces. He is assisted by a Council, which he himself appoints and which he has power to remove.

II. The legislative power is vested in a Senate and a House of Commons. The members of the Senate are appointed for life by the Governor-General, and their number is not to exceed seventy-eight. But these seventy-eight members are not equally distributed among the several provinces; for Ontario and Quebec are represented by twenty-four each, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick by ten each, Prince Edward Island by four, and British Columbia and Manitoba by three each. Moreover, the relations of the Senate and the House of Com-

mons do not closely resemble those of the Senate and the House of Representatives in the United States, but are determined by the rules and traditions that govern the two English Houses of Parliament. The members of the House of Commons are elected by the people for five years. But the Governor-General can dissolve the House whenever he sees fit. The House has power to originate all bills for the appropriation of revenue or for imposing taxes, but only for purposes that have been recommended by the Governor-General.

III. Exclusive powers are given to the provincial legislatures in regard to many matters wherein the States of the American Union likewise have sovereign authority. But the United States Constitution does not define or enumerate these powers; it simply grants to each State, in virtue of its sovereignty, all those powers that are not exclusively delegated to the Federal Government. In the Dominion Constitution, on the other hand, the powers of the provinces as well as those of the Federal Parliament are expressly named, in order that conflicts between the central authority and the individual members of the Confederation may, so far as possible, be avoided. For the Canadians did not wish to see the question of state rights cause those grave disturbances that had imperilled the permanence of the American Union. It is to be further noticed that the powers of the provinces are not as extensive as those of the States of the Republic. The Governor-General not only appoints the Lieutenant-Governors of the provinces, as already stated, but removes them for cause when he so pleases. The provinces, moreover, do not have their own courts corresponding to the State courts in the United States, nor can they determine the salaries of lieutenant-governors and judges, as that is done by the Parliament of the Dominion. Nor do the provincial legislatures have absolute control over education; for denominational schools are specially protected by the Constitution.

IV. As has just been stated, the courts that are established throughout the Dominion are not controlled by the provinces; for the judges of the superior, district, and county courts are appointed for the most part by the Governor-General, and can be removed by him when he is so petitioned by the Parliament of the Dominion. But neither are the courts of Canada federal courts, as the word "federal" is understood in the United

States. For only two of them, the Supreme Court of Canada and the Exchequer Court at Ottawa, have a jurisdiction that is limited to federal as distinguished from local or provincial affairs. And not even these courts have the right of interpreting the Constitution and the legality of legislation which is possessed by the Supreme Bench of the United States. For there is no provision in the Constitution that interferes with the English sovereign's prerogative right to hear appeals from colonial courts before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Accordingly, disputed questions regarding the Constitution have from time to time been brought before the Council, and have been decided by some of the ablest jurists in England, greatly to Canada's benefit.

Now this scheme of government, when carefully studied, is seen to contain nearly everything that is vital to the English representative system. The Governor-General represents the Crown, and appoints the Premier, the colonial term for Prime Minister, who holds his office only so long as he can command a parliamentary majority. If he loses the confidence of his party, or if his party goes out of power, he resigns, and the one who best represents the dominant party is appointed in his place. By this usage the legislative branch of government and the executive, that is, the Premier, are always kept in sympathy; while in the United States the President often finds himself confronted by a hostile majority in Congress because his party has been defeated at the polls before his term of office expired. Thus it appears that the executive more truly represents the people in England and Canada than he does in the United States. And in other respects the Canadian system, showing as it does the English deference to the Crown and to official authority, protects the interests of the public and secures a pure and efficient administration of affairs. Important measures of legislation originate from the Ministry, and not, as in the United States Congress, from committees who are frequently the mere mouthpiece of the lobby. The civil service is, as in England, conducted on purely business principles, instead of being used to bestow rewards on zealous partisans. Even the Speaker of the House of Commons is expected to treat his political opponents with impartial justice. Moreover, party interests are kept out

of city politics, to the great advantage of clean and honest government.[1]

For all these reasons the thoughtful people of Canada are well satisfied with their system of government, and do not care to join their fortunes with those of the great neighboring republic. Yet this is a fact which the government and people of the United States have been very slow to recognize. The dislike for England which is so common in America inclines its citizens to think that the Canadians cannot help desiring annexation to the United States rather than continued subjection to Great Britain. Hence, the policy of the American government toward Canada has not been wholly wise. It has been shaped with reference to bringing about annexation, instead of encouraging the fullest and freest commercial relations with a neighboring people that is reasonably sure to have a different destiny. Nor have the Canadians always showed a friendly spirit toward the United States. Consequently, frequent misunderstandings and antagonisms have arisen between the two peoples. During the American Civil War many Canadians exasperated the North by showing an active sympathy with the Confederate cause. Partly through resentment at this conduct and partly through sympathy with the doctrines of protection, the United States Congress decided in 1864 to bring the reciprocity treaty to an end. That this action was unfortunate for Canada cannot be denied; that it was equally unfortunate for the United States is believed by the opponents of protection.

Yet, notwithstanding the interruption to free commercial intercourse with the United States, the Dominion of Canada grew and prospered under its new Constitution. At the time when the Union was accomplished the population of Canada was not much above 3,000,000. As the end of the century approaches, the inhabitants of the country number over 5,000,000, and show many signs of vigorous and progressive life. Since the Confederation was established, not only Prince Edward Island, but the provinces of Manitoba, Keewatin, Assin-

[1] For a comparison of the American and the Canadian systems consult the introductory chapter of A. H. F. Lefroy's "The Law of Legislative Power in Canada"; also an excellent paper by J. S. Bourinot on Parliamentary Government in Canada, in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1891, particularly pp. 368 *et seq.*

iboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Athabasca, and British Columbia have been added to it. These western provinces have for the most part been formed out of land obtained from the Hudson Bay Company. That powerful Company long clung jealously to its vast territories, and, desiring to use them solely as a source of fur supply, it resisted all attempts to develop their agricultural and mineral resources. But in 1869 it surrendered them to the Crown for the sum of $1,500,000; retaining at the same time certain special rights and privileges. Thus some of the richest and most fertile tracts in the world were opened to civilization, and are slowly becoming populated. But not without difficulty were they reclaimed from the semi-barbarous life that prevailed under the régime of the Hudson Bay Company. Their population of half-breeds and Indians resisted the advance of law and order, and had to be suppressed by armed force. Louis Riel, who had a mixture of Indian blood in his veins, though his father was a white, stirred up a rebellion in the Red River region in 1870; and under this same leader a far more formidable outbreak occurred in the Saskatchewan district in 1885. In this second uprising the Canadian troops met with one or two severe reverses. The people of Canada became exasperated with the man who caused such needless bloodshed; and, when finally the rebellion was crushed, Riel was tried for treason and executed.[1]

There have been in Canada, as in the United States, two leading political parties, but their historical development has not been the same in the two countries. In the United States the two opposing principles of centralization and state rights came into conflict immediately after the Constitution was adopted, and they dominated the political field for more than half a century. In Canada there have been indeed those who were for and those who were against Confederation; but the powers of the central Government could not be questioned as they have been in the United States, for those powers are determined by the Crown through the English Parliament. So the only questions on which the two parties could divide have been those of progress and financial policy. The Conservatives have been averse to radical measures of reform, and have reso-

[1] The rebellion headed by Riel and the legality of his sentence are discussed in the *Political Science Quarterly*, 2 : 135.

lutely clung to the policy of protection; the Liberals are in favor of free trade and of more liberal and progressive measures in politics and education. But the latter have had little opportunity to carry out their ideas; for, with the exception of one period of five years' duration, the Conservatives were in power from 1867 until 1896. Their leader during most of this time was Sir John Macdonald, a shrewd, ambitious man, who sometimes resorted to unscrupulous methods to advance the interests of his party.[1] Yet he had great ability, and that he conferred upon Canada many substantial benefits can hardly be denied.

Some important questions came up for consideration during his administration of affairs. The Canadian Pacific Railroad was first projected in 1871, and, not without causing some political scandals, was finally completed in 1885. It was a charge of corrupt use of power in furthering this enterprise that caused Macdonald to resign in 1879; and in his further dealings with the railroad corporation he showed a most reprehensible carelessness of the public interests, even though dishonesty could not be charged against him. The growth of the tracts along the road has been greatly retarded by the unwise grants that were made to this corporation.[2]

Protection became a living issue in 1878. At that time there was a depression in trade and business, and to secure the victory of their party the Conservatives advocated a protective policy. They promised better times if they were elected; the people, in their desire for prosperity, believed them; and the elections gave them a handsome majority. True to their promises, the Conservatives, under the lead of Sir John Macdonald, began to tax imports in order to encourage home manufactures. As a result the manufacturers flourished, and insisted that the duties should be retained and even increased. That Sir John Macdonald met them before every election and granted their demands was one of the well-known facts of Canadian politics. But whether Canada has prospered by adopting the policy of protection is doubtful. The Conservatives honestly believe that this course has been beneficial to the country; but the

[1] *Westminster Review*, 137 : 478.

[2] Alternate blocks a mile long were given to the railroad all along its route. —*Ibid.*

Liberals claim that protection has checked commercial growth, and caused a million people to leave Canada on account of the stagnation in business. Between these contradictory claims every one will decide according to his economic convictions.

Very early after Macdonald's rise to power the fisheries question began to give trouble. Although the American fishermen lost their unrestricted rights to fish in Canadian waters when the reciprocity treaty was terminated in 1866, they regained them in 1871; for in the Treaty of Washington reciprocity in regard to the fisheries and their products was established, the United States agreeing to pay Canada for the privileges conceded. For in the matter of fisheries reciprocity was worth much more to the United States than to Canada. But how large a sum should be paid was not determined by the treaty, and it was through the energies of the Liberal Premier, Alexander Mackenzie, that a commission was appointed in 1877 to fix the amount of the compensation. The commission decided that the sum should be $5,500,000. This amount the United States paid; but, deeming the award excessive, it gave notice that it desired the termination of the reciprocity agreement, which accordingly came to an end on July 1, 1885. So Americans could now fish in Canadian waters only in accordance with the Treaty of 1818. But the meaning of some terms in this treaty was disputed, and trouble consequently arose. The Americans claimed privileges which the Canadians, supported by England, were unwilling to allow.[1] In particular, American fishermen believed that they had the right to purchase bait and to enter bays more than six miles wide; but in living up to this belief they met with disaster. Their vessels were captured by Canadian cruisers and fined by Canadian authorities. Whether or not this action was justifiable, it caused great indignation in the United States; and to settle all disputed points in regard to the fisheries, an international commission was appointed by Great Britain and the United States in 1887. But the United States refused to ratify the agreement made by the commission, and the fisheries question remained as a menace to good feeling.

Nor was the understanding between Canada and the United States made better by the dispute over the Bering Sea seal fish-

[1] *The Forum*, 4: 349.

eries. The Canadians persisted in the practice of pelagic sealing, which tends to exterminate the seals by destroying them when they are with young. To put a stop to this practice, the Americans seized several Canadian sealing vessels in Bering Sea, claiming that the waters within sixty miles of the coast of Alaska were, by rights long since established when Russia owned the territory, under the control of the United States. This claim was disallowed by a court of arbitration which met at Paris in 1893; but to prevent the extermination of the seals the court advised against killing them from May 1 to July 21. This recommendation was adopted by Great Britain and the United States, and was enforced by cruisers of both countries. But pelagic sealing still went on, for Great Britain, through fear of offending Canada, refused to join with the United States in stopping it. Hence the seals were in danger of extermination, and the United States became anxious for a reopening of the question. After an extensive diplomatic correspondence the Governments of Great Britain and the United States agreed that experts, representing both countries, should meet and thoroughly consider the important points at issue. Experts were accordingly appointed, and met at Washington in October, 1897. They agreed that the number of the seals was diminishing, and that pelagic sealing was largely responsible for the decrease, although the herd was not in danger of extermination provided the numbers killed on land were not excessive. The experts also found that the death-rate among females and pups was great because of indiscriminate sea-killing.

But while the representatives of the two countries could agree upon essential facts, they found it impossible to adopt the same views of international policy. Mr. J. W. Foster, one of the American experts, proposed on behalf of the United States Government that the Canadian sealers should abstain from pelagic sealing for a year, and that the United States should prevent the killing of seals on the Pribiloff Islands, where the seals give birth to their young, for the same length of time. But the Canadian Government refused to consent to this proposal, which it considered prejudicial to the interests of the Canadian sealers, and the practice of pelagic sealing was still continued. The failure of the Anglo-American Commission to settle this question is elsewhere recorded; and owing

to the unwillingness of the Canadians to abandon pelagic sealing, a satisfactory adjustment of this long-standing difficulty cannot be easily devised.

The year 1896 was an important one in Canadian annals, as it marked the advent of the Liberal party to power. By the general elections which were held in that year, 118 Liberals were returned to the House of Commons against 86 Conservatives and 8 Independents. This victory was in some measure due to the personal popularity of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the leader of the Liberal party. A French Canadian and a Catholic, Sir Wilfrid had gained the confidence of the English Liberals in Canada by his ability and his rare personal integrity. As leader of the victorious party he was now made Premier, and he courageously faced the difficult problems that demanded solution.

Of these problems none was more perplexing than the Manitoba school question. Until May, 1890, the Roman Catholics of Manitoba had had separate schools; but by an act passed in that year by the legislature of the Province this privilege was taken from them. As they claimed that this act was illegal, and deprived them of a right that was guaranteed by the Constitution of the Dominion, the matter came inevitably before the Dominion Parliament. But as the Catholics and the remaining population of Manitoba were equally obstinate, it had been found impossible to settle the difficulty. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's position in the matter was a trying one, for as a Catholic he was expected to sustain his own church, while as a Liberal he must recognize the essential justice of the action of the Manitoba Legislature. For the Catholics in Manitoba were so few in numbers that the expense of maintaining separate schools for them was unreasonably heavy. But the Premier showed much tact and adroitness, as well as a strong sense of justice in meeting the situation, and found a fairly satisfactory solution of the problem. It was arranged that all schools should be under governmental control, and that educational work should be secular until the last half-hour of the school day, when representatives of any religious bodies should come in and instruct the children of their own denominations, providing the parents were willing to have them remain. Moreover, a Catholic teacher, fully qualified according to

national or provincial educational standards, was to be provided for every school that had an average attendance of twenty-five Roman Catholic children.

The financial situation was also a difficult one. As a Liberal, Sir Wilfrid Laurier was pledged to a free trade policy; but the country had so long been accustomed to a protective tariff that duties could not be suddenly and materially lowered without seriously disturbing trade and commerce. The Government accordingly decided not to make a general and sweeping reduction in the duties; at the same time it adopted a policy that was in keeping with Liberal principles. On April 22, 1897, Mr. W. S. Fielding, the Minister of Finance, delivered his Budget speech and stated that the Government had decided to free the tariff from some objectionable specific duties, but in other respects to maintain it as it was with all countries that would not grant reciprocity; but to establish a preferential tariff which would apply at once to Great Britain, and afterward to any country that would grant reciprocal terms to Canadian products.

This tariff was adopted by the House of Commons and gave great satisfaction to Great Britain, where Sir Wilfrid Laurier was enthusiastically received on the occasion of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee in the summer of 1897. All of the Premiers of England's self-governing Colonies were present at the Jubilee; none received such marked attention as Sir Wilfrid Laurier. As the head of Great Britain's largest and richest territorial possession, he played a prominent part in the conferences that were then held over the great question of Imperial Federation.[1] If such a federation could be organized, Canada, next to Great Britain, would be its most important member and contribute most to its strength. Yet not even Canada, it was to be noticed, was looked upon as a nation. For, great as was the respect shown to the Colonial Premiers, their

[1] The advantages and the desirability of federation were carefully considered in these conferences, but the difficulties of the problem were not ignored, and no settled plan of organization was arranged. An imperial parliament was advocated by some, while others considered a parliament impracticable and were in favor of an imperial council. The English papers of the period contain many interesting discussions of the question. Consult the *Times*, the *Speaker*, the *Spectator*, and the *Saturday Review* for the latter part of June and the earlier part of July, 1897.

claim to represent nations rather than subject Colonies was not allowed.

A more difficult task than any other which Sir Wilfrid Laurier has attempted is that of securing free commercial intercourse with the United States. Contiguous as the two countries are, inhabited by peoples that speak the same language, and separated for the most part by a merely artificial frontier, they could hardly fail to benefit by an extensive interchange of their products. But as Canada greatly needs the manufactured wares of the United States, while the United States, on the other hand, is well supplied with nearly all those things that Canada produces, the American manufacturers are very loath to see reciprocity established between the two countries. Their view of the question prevails in the United States; but that it is an enlightened and patriotic view may well be questioned. If reciprocity existed, America could draw freely upon the Canadian supplies of coal and lumber, and could thus delay the destruction of its forests and the exhaustion of its mines. Accordingly, in presenting the Canadian side of this important question, Sir Wilfrid Laurier may perform a valuable service to the American people.

Newfoundland

Not having become a part of the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland calls for a brief separate mention. The island was discovered in 1497 by John Cabot, and the value of its fisheries soon became known. In 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert took formal possession of the island for Queen Elizabeth; but the French also laid claim to it, and it was not till the Treaty of Utrecht was agreed upon in 1713 that the dispute between the two countries was settled. By the Treaty of Utrecht the island was ceded to England, but the right to fish and to cure fish on the northern coast was granted to the French. In 1783, however, the western coast, from Cape St. John to Cape Ray, instead of the northern, was assigned them for this purpose. But the concession was an unfortunate one, for it led to continual disputes and retarded the development of that portion of the island. Even at the present day the grievance continues, and the French Shore Question has become an important issue in New-

foundland politics. In 1898 the matter was still giving so much trouble that delegates were sent to England to secure the appointment of a royal commission, which should investigate the condition of the Colony and in particular inquire into the French treaty rights upon the west shore. In accordance with this request commissioners were appointed by the home Government.

Representative government was granted to Newfoundland by the British Parliament in 1832. Household suffrage was at that time established, but in 1887 the franchise was extended to all male adults. The Executive consists of a Governor, appointed by the Crown, and an Executive Council which must not exceed seven members. The legislative branch of the government is composed of a Legislative Council, whose members are appointed by the Governor and are not to exceed fifteen; and a House of Assembly of thirty-six members, who are elected for four years. Education is under the control of the different religious bodies and is not free. The island has an area of 42,200 square miles and a population of about 200,000.

CHAPTER VI

AUSTRALIA

The island, or fifth continent, Australia, seems to have been discovered by the Portuguese in the earlier part of the fifteenth century. Terra Australis it is designated on the maps of that period, and hence the name Australia. In the following century it was several times reached by Dutch navigators, one of whom, Tasman, discovered in 1642 the island which bears his name; and the English buccaneer, Dampier, visited the northern coast of Australia in 1688. But no attempt was made to colonize this island-continent till the English began to send convicts to its shores shortly after they were deprived of their American Colonies by the Revolution. Their attention was turned to this vast and unused tract by the celebrated voyager, Captain Cook. He conducted a scientific expedition to its eastern shore in 1769, and reported favorably upon its capacities. So in 1787 a fleet of eleven vessels, containing 696 convicts, was sent to this unexplored and far-away island; and on January 26, 1788, the expedition landed near the spot where stands the city of Sydney.

From this inauspicious beginning grew the rich and splendid civilization of Australia. For many years the country was used almost entirely as a receptacle for criminals; but some free settlers also found their way there, and in 1839 the practice of transporting criminals to Australia was abandoned. Meanwhile the country was explored, and many new settlements were made. Thus, gradually, as the population increased and spread, a number of separate provinces were established. The original province where the convicts were transported was termed New South Wales, because its shores were supposed to resemble the southern shores of Wales. Tasmania was occupied in 1803, and, like the elder province, was at first used as

a penal settlement. For a number of years it was under the control of New South Wales; but in 1825 it was made a separate province. A convict station was established in Western Australia in 1825. Other settlements were made in the western district not long afterward, and this province was organized by 1829. This western tract, however, was destined to remain, for a long time, undeveloped and thinly populated; while the eastern portion of the island had a far more fortunate history. For explorations made in 1813 showed that in the interior of New South Wales, beyond the Blue Mountains, lay perhaps the finest sheep pastures in the world. This discovery led to a rapid settlement of the province, and, as its fast increasing population pushed onward, it was found that the same magnificent resources were possessed by the adjoining regions. Victoria was settled in 1836; and a company was established in South Australia at about the same time. But Victoria did not become a distinct province until 1851, though it received its name some ten years earlier; and Queensland had no independent existence until 1859, but up to that date was simply a portion of New South Wales.

Though the growth of Western Australia was extremely slow, South Australia and New South Wales (including then Victoria and Queensland) gained rapidly in wealth and population. The sheep downs of these provinces were so favorable to raising sheep that Australian wool soon gained a reputation the world over for the fineness of its quality, and was in demand in all manufacturing countries. So the sheep owners grew rich and their numbers multiplied. By the middle of the century Australia had a population of over 300,000; but after the discovery of mineral wealth the increase was far more rapid. Copper was found in South Australia in 1842, and the mining of that article began to be an important industry. But this addition to the resources of the country awakened no widespread interest. It was the discovery of gold in 1851 that created wild excitement among the inhabitants and brought immigrants to Australia in crowds. The discovery was made in New South Wales, but rich mines were also found to exist in Victoria, and in the portion of New South Wales that became the province of Queensland. So Australia began to attract the attention of the whole civilized world. Her resources were

rapidly developed. Her products multiplied. Her export and import trade grew steadily in volume. In 1871 her population had increased to 1,500,000; in 1891 it had risen to over 3,000,000, and it is nearly 5,000,000 at the close of the century. The largest city of the country is Melbourne, in Victoria, with a population of over half a million; but Sydney, in New South Wales, is a formidable rival, not being much inferior in size and population, and having in its university the most imposing building in Australia.

Since 1851 the mining industry has been of prime importance. Not only gold and copper, but silver, lead, tin, and coal have been mined in large quantities and exported to Great Britain and other countries. As a gold-producing country Australia has for many years ranked second only to the United States, and the supply is by no means exhausted. It is probable that for a long time to come the gold fields of Australia will be one of the chief sources for the supply of this precious metal, though their yearly output is now greatly surpassed by that of South Africa. But rich as are the mines of Australia, they do not yield as great a revenue as that derived from the soil. The yearly return from wool, tallow, hides, frozen and salted meats, sugar, fruits, timber, pearls and pearl shells, is enormous. In the year 1895 the total value of the exports was nearly $300,000,000. Yet the country is still very sparsely settled and its immense resources are most imperfectly developed. Though larger than the United States without Alaska, it has not a tenth of the population of the latter country, and some of its richest and most fertile tracts are almost unknown and unvisited. Particularly is this true of Western Australia. This province, which is much larger than any of the others, has as yet less than 100,000 inhabitants; yet its resources are pronounced equal to those of South Australia, Queensland, or New South Wales.[1] Its gold fields are among the richest in Australia, and its fertile regions, though interspersed with stretches of desert, are equal to those of the more populous provinces. Hence the population of Australia is sure to grow rapidly, and the volume of its import and export trade must steadily increase. Not indeed that the country can escape financial reverses. It has had them in the past; it will certainly

[1] *Westminster Review*, 137: 482 *et seq.*

have them in the future. It is frequently afflicted by droughts, and from this cause, or from other unfavorable conditions, arise panics, failures, and stringency in the money market. In 1842 the prosperity of New South Wales was suddenly interrupted by a financial crash resulting from reckless speculation and inflated prices. A more widespread depression was experienced in 1893, which profoundly affected all the Australian Colonies. Arising in part from an excessively free use of the credit system, it caused a number of banks to close their doors for a time, occasioned a general feeling of insecurity, and injured the financial standing of the whole country. The debt of Australia is very large, amounting to about $1,000,000,000, which seems an enormous sum for a people numbering five millions to owe. This indebtedness was by some considered to be largely the cause of Australia's financial collapse, and called forth attacks upon her credit and prophecies that greater troubles and possible bankruptcy were in store for her. But it was shown by those thoroughly acquainted with her financial system that the large amount of the public debt was due to peculiar conditions, and could not be fairly judged by the ordinary principles that govern state finance.[1] More than half the sums borrowed by the Australian Colonies have been expended on railways, without which the commerce of so thinly settled a country could never have been developed. It is not to be forgotten, moreover, that Australia is a very wealthy country, even if its population is still small. In its gold mines and its sheep it has almost inexhaustible resources, and it is therefore warranted in spending freely, because its income is so great. There is every reason to believe that it will carry its burden of debt without feeling impoverished, and will eventually free itself from encumbrance.

The political development of Australia has been commensurate with its material prosperity. Its various provinces were originally ruled by Governors appointed by the English Crown, and the power of these officials was practically unlimited. But the growth of the country was almost steadily toward democracy. Its settlers brought with them from Great Britain the Anglo-Saxon love of freedom; and the conditions of life that

[1] "The Attack on the Credit of Australia," *The Nineteenth Century*, April, 1892.

prevailed in this new land, where each man was dependent for success upon his own energy and exertions, encouraged equality. One brief attempt was indeed made to resist these levelling tendencies. In South Australia and Victoria the first settlements were made in accordance with the system of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who believed that the social distinctions which are made in England should be rigidly preserved. But the plan of life he devised for this new and unsettled region proved wholly artificial and resulted in failure. The democratic tendencies of the settlers were too strong to be resisted and had their way. And naturally they showed themselves in the wish for representative government. As early as 1824 the Governor of New South Wales allowed a small body of men to confer with him in regard to the administration of affairs, and this body was termed the Executive Council. So successful was this arrangement that in 1829 the number of the body was enlarged to fifteen; its name was changed to Legislative Council, and with the Governor it made laws for the Colony. It was not, indeed, a perfect representative body. It was not chosen by the suffrages of the people, and its decisions could be set aside by the Governor. Yet its creation marks the beginning of the movement which resulted in democratic and constitutional government. But as the population of the Colony increased, the desire for representation gained strength and found expression. The friends of the movement met at Sydney in 1842 and resolved to petition the British Parliament for a voice in the management of their affairs. Their petition was granted. A new Legislative Council was created, twenty-four of whose members were to be chosen by the people, while the remaining twelve took their seats by right of office or through appointment by the Governor. In 1843 the first popular election ever known in Australia was held, and the Council met at Sydney in the same year.

With this imperfect system of representative government the Colony remained satisfied for a period of ten years. But the discovery of gold in Australia in 1851 had an important effect upon the political development of the country. Its population grew rapidly; disorders occurred at the gold fields; the need of a more efficient form of government became apparent. The Legislative Councils, which had been established in the

other Colonies as well as in New South Wales, did not sufficiently voice the will of the people, and the English Parliament decided that these far-away and rapidly growing states should frame their own Constitutions and assume a fuller degree of self-control. Accordingly, the Legislative Councils which were elected in 1851 were each invited by Parliament to prepare such a Constitution as the circumstances and conditions of their Colony seemed to demand. The invitation was readily accepted. New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia submitted Constitutions which were approved by Parliament. Queensland did the same when it was separated from New South Wales in 1859. Tasmania received a Constitution in 1885 and Western Australia in 1890. Each of these six Colonies now has its Parliament, consisting of two Houses, the Upper being termed the Legislative Council, and the Lower the Legislative Assembly, or (in Queensland and Tasmania) the House of Assembly. In each of the Colonies, excepting Tasmania,[1] which requires a property qualification, the Lower House is chosen by universal manhood suffrage, though in South Australia women also are allowed to vote. The members of the Upper House are in some of the Colonies chosen by a limited suffrage, and in others are appointed by the Crown for life. It is thus seen that Australia, like Canada, has to some extent accepted English political traditions and to some extent has broken loose from them. In its manner of electing its popular House, it is, with the exception of Tasmania, thoroughly democratic; but it has refused to allow its Upper House to be chosen even indirectly by the whole people. Limited suffrage based upon property and legislative appointments proceeding from the authority of government are foreign to the democratic theory and to the usages of republics. It is to be noticed also that in all of the Colonies except Western Australia the members of the Lower House, unlike the members of the English House of Commons, are paid for their parliamentary services; and that they are elected for three years.

But though the Colonies had thus gained responsible government, they had not gained unity. For many years they continued separate and distinct without making any active effort

[1] In Western Australia either a six months' residence in one place or twelve months' residence in the Colony, or a property qualification, is required.

to unite their interests and destinies, though the idea of federation was brought forward as early as 1852. As time passed, this idea inevitably grew pressing and important. The example of Canada was a perpetual invitation to the Australians to bring their island under one central sway. In 1886 the movement for federation began to find expression, and a Federal Council met at Hobart to give it careful consideration. Little was accomplished by this Council, and its views of the measures necessary were narrow. But the movement found an earnest friend in Sir Henry Parkes, who pushed it forward in the most vigorous manner. Again and again he enunciated the idea that federation could never be brought about without adequate representation, and that no representative body could be adequate unless its members were chosen by the people directly or by the different colonial Parliaments. Through his initiative another conference was brought about in 1890; and in 1891 the Australian Federal Council was formed with a view to framing a Federal Constitution. In 1895 the Australian Premiers held a conference and adopted "The Australian Federation Enabling Act," which prepared the way for the election of a convention to draft a Constitution. To such a Federal Convention, accordingly, delegates were sent in 1897 by Tasmania and all the Australian provinces excepting Queensland. The Convention held two sessions in 1897 and one in 1898, and finally framed a Constitution Bill to be submitted to the different Colonies, though it found the task an exceedingly difficult one. The smaller Colonies demanded equal representation in the Upper House; and the larger Colonies insisted that the Upper House should have no power to amend money bills. The first of these claims was allowed; the second was settled by compromise. There was also disagreement over the means of settling a dead-lock in case the two Houses disagreed, and also over the question of dividing the surplus customs revenue among the Colonies.

These differences having been adjusted, the Convention broke up on March 17, 1898, and the bill was then referred to a plebiscite in the different Colonies. No vote was taken in Queensland, however, because that Colony had held aloof from the movement; and in Western Australia the vote of the people was deferred until the matter should have been submitted to

the local parliament. In Victoria, Tasmania, and South Australia there was an overwhelming popular majority in favor of the bill, although only a strikingly small proportion of the electors recorded their votes. In New South Wales the result was adverse; for, although the bill obtained a majority, it did not receive the 80,000 votes required by statute. Notwithstanding this defeat there was a strong sentiment in New South Wales in favor of the federative movement; and the Government of the Colony began to prepare such modifications of the bill as would make it acceptable to the electors, hoping that the proposed changes would meet with approval in the other Colonies. The customs arrangements of the Constitution Bill were especially objectionable to the people of New South Wales, as through their operation about £250,000 would be taken from the revenue of the Colony and made over to the general Government; and the provision that a dead-lock between the two Houses should be settled by a joint session in which a three fifths majority should be necessary also roused much opposition, and it was proposed that in such cases a bare majority should be sufficient.

The modifications proposed by the Government of New South Wales were submitted to a conference of the Premiers of Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania, which met at Melbourne toward the end of January, 1899. As the result of the conference the most serious objections of the people of New South Wales were removed, and the Premier of that Colony, who had been the chief opponent of the Constitution, now promised to give it his support. Its ultimate acceptance by all the Colonies became, therefore, practically assured; and there seemed to be no doubt that Mr. Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary of Great Britain, would be in a position to submit the proposed Constitution to the House of Commons in the course of the year 1900. Consequently the Constitution began to attract the close attention of English lawyers and political leaders, and its exceedingly democratic character called forth much interesting comment.[1] For it was modelled after the fundamental law of the United States rather than that of Canada. Indeed, the Australians abandoned nearly all those political usages

[1] Consult the (English) *Law Quarterly Review* for April, 1899.

and traditions of the mother-country which the Canadians had held sacred and adopted. The Australian Constitution does indeed provide for responsible parliamentary government, as it gives the Governor-General the power to prorogue the Parliament and to dissolve the House of Representatives; but it does not vest that officer with the right of vetoing federal legislation; it gives to the different members of the Confederation equal representation in the Senate; it grants legislative powers to the Federal Parliament, but does not expressly endow the individual states with similar authority; and it provides for a system of federal courts which are to have a jurisdiction similar to that exercised by the federal courts of the United States. The supreme federal court is to be called the High Court of Australia, and Parliament may confer on it original jurisdiction in questions arising under the Constitution or involving its interpretation. Thus in several matters of prime importance the Australian Constitution imitates that of the United States rather than that of Canada, as will be apparent by comparing the provisions above noted with those of the Canadian Constitution as given on page 337. Moreover, the Australians sometimes prefer the political names adopted in America to those sanctioned by English usage; for they term their Lower House the House of Representatives instead of the House of Commons, and they call the members of the Confederation, not provinces, but states.

From this outline of Australian history and political growth it is apparent that in this land, so far removed from European civilization, the principle of constitutionalism has won new and significant triumphs. Here also representative government has protected the rights of the people. Not indeed that its workings have been altogether smooth. Australia, like other progressive countries, has had difficult problems to encounter. Its civil service has been corrupt, its political elections have been disgraced by extensive bribery, it has not escaped from organized and long-continued strikes. Nor has legislation always dealt wisely and efficiently with these and other evils. On the contrary, it has often been characterized by impatience, recklessness, and indifference to the highest welfare of the State.[1]

[1] In the *Atlantic Monthly* for March, 1898, there is an able criticism of Australian democracy by Mr. E. L. Godkin; and in the issue of the same magazine for May, 1899, is to be found a rejoinder to this article.

Yet constitutional government has accomplished so much good that the following statement by Sir Henry Parkes[1] about its workings in New South Wales may fairly be applied to the whole country: "Making all fair allowance for the beneficial working of those moral and commercial agencies which would have come into increasingly active operation under any form of political institutions, still the results which are directly attributable to the legislative discernment, wisdom, and vigor of the new Constitution are immense. They are to be seen in the extension of railways, and the greatly improved means of communication in all directions, in the scores upon scores of substantial bridges which span rivers and creeks, where dangerous crossings served the purposes of travel in the last generation, and the wider spread of settlement and the better class of rural homesteads, in the gradual sweep of cultivation over the wild land, in the beauty-spots of orchard and flower-garden around poor men's homes; above all in the beneficent provision, reaching everywhere, for the instruction of the happy children, in the popular demand for municipal institutions, in the multiplication of books accessible to the many, in the more systematic ordering of towns and villages, in the higher efficiency introduced into the departments of justice and police — in a word, in every feature of society."

[1] "Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History," I. 312.

CHAPTER VII

NEW ZEALAND

The group of islands which goes by the name of New Zealand belongs to Australasia. But the term "Australasia" is purely geographical, and is, indeed, misleading. It suggests that all the islands included under the name have a connection of some sort with Australia; whereas some of them lie far away from that island-continent, and differ from it in every essential feature. The two large islands which practically compose New Zealand lie 1200 miles east of Australia, and extend 600 miles south of its southernmost point, if Tasmania is not considered a part of it. Moreover, in climate and in physical characteristics the two countries are widely different. Australia is a low, flat country, and, on the whole, a very hot one, with a fauna and flora peculiar to itself. New Zealand is mountainous and comparatively temperate; and its fauna and flora bear scarcely any resemblance to those of the larger country.

But naturally, in its material and political growth, it repeats the story of Australia. An unknown land with great natural resources is occupied by a few adventurous Englishmen, is gradually civilized and populated, and becomes a rich and flourishing dependency of Great Britain. Like Australia, New Zealand was first brought prominently to the notice of Great Britain by Captain Cook, who explored it in 1769. But its native population of Maoris was savage and addicted to cannibalism, and for a long time none but desperate characters would settle upon its inhospitable shores. A few runaway sailors and escaped convicts found refuge there; the better class of colonists could not find a home amid cannibals and profligates. Still, missionaries from Sydney did find their way to the islands, which were accordingly declared a dependency

of New South Wales. Thus the influence of Great Britain began to make itself felt in New Zealand, and gradually became dominant. At the request of some of the native chieftains, who had been reached by missionary effort, King William IV. took the islands under England's protection, and sent a British resident to bring them under British control. This action encouraged Englishmen to settle there. Colonists of the better class began to increase, and in 1838 they established a provincial government. And now Edward Gibbon Wakefield, that remarkable man who played so prominent a part in the early history of Australia, resolved to make the islands a possession of the British Crown. So serious a step should have been taken by the British Government rather than by irresponsible individuals; but as Parliament was slow to act in the matter, Wakefield, with the coöperation of Lord Durham, secretly formed the New Zealand Company, and sent his brother to the islands in 1839 to take possession. More colonists came in the following year under the auspices of the new company. The city of Wellington was founded. The British Government, awakened from its indifference, saw that it was high time to interfere. It made New Zealand a separate colony, and placed it under the control of a Governor-General and a Legislative Council of six. And as the natives ceded the North Island to the Queen by a formal treaty, and the Middle Island[1] was claimed for the Crown through right of discovery, the sovereignty of Great Britain over the islands was at least nominally assured.

But it remained to gain actual possession of the country, and this was not easily done. The Maoris were hostile and defiant. They fought the English step by step. Though they sold their land to the settlers, they would not respect the rights of the new owners; and they involved the colonists in long and sanguinary wars. Not until 1869 were they entirely subdued. But in spite of these obstacles the process of colonization went steadily on. Although the British Government would not allow a private corporation to control the islands, it granted the New Zealand Company a charter under which active measures were taken to populate and develop the new

[1] There is a third member of the group, called Stewart Island; but it is small, thinly settled, and unimportant.

colony. Emigrants were sent to it in large numbers, its interior was explored, its resources were carefully examined. Gradually it was found that New Zealand was one of the richest and most fertile possessions of the Crown. Its forests contain an almost inexhaustible supply of valuable timber, its moist lands teem with the flax plant, sheep and cattle thrive on its immense stretches of pasture land, large stores of gum are dug from the sites of its ancient forests, its gold mines have given an abundant yield, and its coal mines are rich and extensive. Moreover, the northerly part of the North Island, not as yet a favorite residence portion of the colony on account of its warm climate, has resources of its own, for silkworms and semi-tropical fruits can be produced there without trouble.

Blessed with such resources, New Zealand gained rapidly in population, trade, and commerce, after the stream of immigration had once fairly set toward its shores. In 1854 its inhabitants numbered about 30,000, exclusive of the aborigines; in 1858 they had increased to nearly 60,000; by 1880 the population, exclusive of the Maoris, had grown to 500,000, and as the century closes it numbers nearly 750,000. And quite proportionate has been the growth in trade and prosperity. In the twenty years from 1859 to 1878 the commerce of New Zealand increased nearly twenty fold; and in the last of these years its yearly exports were over $30,000,000. In 1896 this figure had increased to $42,500,000. Very large, also, has been the import trade, owing to the slow development of New Zealand's manufacturing industries. Rich in its forests, its mines, and its agricultural and grazing lands, the country did not for a long time find it expedient to attempt manufacturing upon a large scale. Rather did it pursue the natural course of sending its own products to Great Britain, and in turn drawing largely upon the mother-country for the manifold articles of daily use. At the same time, manufactures have of late received considerable attention. The factories of New Zealand now give employment to 40,000 persons, and their yearly product has a value of more than $50,000,000. Helped thus by their climate, their soil, their mineral resources, and their facilities for all manner of industrial and commercial enterprises, the people of the country have attained to an

almost unexampled prosperity. Large fortunes, it is true, are not common, as they are in Australia; but nearly all live in comfort, and poverty is hardly known. Not that the islands have been free from those seasons of business depression, money stringency, and disastrous speculation which seem invariably to attend the advance of civilization. The year 1879 marked the beginning of a panic, which was of long duration, and which caused widespread financial disturbance, for previous to that year there had been an over-rapid development of commercial enterprises. Money had been borrowed extensively, speculation in land had been excessive, prices had become inflated. The crash came which inevitably follows such unhealthy business activity, and many were financially ruined, while many others saved their fortunes only by anxious years of exertion and self-denial. But this season of excitement and disaster was followed by prosperous years. The people settled down into thrifty and contented ways, avoiding the fierce competition of modern civilization and the direful evils which it brings. For though the New Zealanders have had to grapple with the socialistic and other troublesome problems of the present day, they have faced these problems with courage and equanimity, as a glance at their political history will show.

That this history is a most interesting and instructive one need not surprise us. The colonists of New Zealand were Englishmen, with many Scotch and Irish and a few Scandinavians and Germans intermixed. Possessing thus the Anglo-Saxon genius for affairs, they soon learned to demand the right of self-government. This demand was pressingly urged by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who played a conspicuous and not wholly creditable part in Australian politics, and who may be said to have been the founder of the New Zealand Colony. But it was only by persistent efforts that the colonists obtained what they desired. In this case, as in all similar cases of colonial ambition for independence, the mother-country was slow to relax its grasp upon its young and growing progeny. The home Government sent out one Governor-General after another from Great Britain, but not till 1852 did it recognize the claims of the New Zealanders to manage their own affairs. In that year the British Parliament granted New Zealand the right of

self-government under a Constitution which was largely the work of the Governor-General, Sir George Grey. This able man, who more than once played an important part in the history of the Colony, was sent to New Zealand in 1846. Showing great tact in dealing with the natives, and a sincere interest in the welfare of the colonists, he was more successful in governing the islands than his predecessors had been. The Constitution which he helped to frame for the Colony was ambitiously conceived; for it provided for nine provincial assemblies as well as for a central parliament, and it must be admitted that the country was sparsely settled for the establishment of so many parliamentary bodies. But the Constitution materially helped the political development of the country, and for twenty-two years it continued without substantial modification.

But Governor Grey did not remain with the Colony long enough to see the machinery of government which he had devised put into successful operation. He left New Zealand in 1853, and it was not till 1856 that the House of Representatives was thoroughly and efficiently organized and enabled to perform its legislative functions. That this early departure of Governor Grey was a loss to the country soon became apparent, for his immediate successors proved incompetent. Those disastrous wars which disturbed the Colony for so many years (p. 358) were largely due to the mismanagement of Colonel Browne. Appointed Governor in 1855, he soon offended the natives by his arbitrary manner of dealing with them; and though Grey was again made Governor in 1861, even he could not quell the spirit of insurrection which had been roused. But, in spite of reverses, the Colony grew in wealth and population, and with increased prosperity came new social and political conditions. For gradually the colonists acquired confidence in themselves and in the resources of their country; and this confidence generated a desire to control the policy of the Government and to adapt legislation to the growing needs of the Colony. The early Governors took the administration of affairs very largely into their own hands; but after Grey's second term of office came to an end, in 1868, the Governors did not attempt to shape the colonial policy. Left thus to themselves, the colonists proved active and capable. The decade preceding 1880 was marked by a number of important steps. The provincial

councils were abolished in 1875, and local affairs were largely intrusted to local boards which could not claim parliamentary dignity. But more important than this change was the assumption of new duties and responsibilities by the Government. The time had come when it was necessary to provide the Colony with better facilities for communication and commercial intercourse. Accordingly, the Government borrowed large sums of money, built roads, constructed railroads, purchased land, and brought new immigrants into the country.

That this activity on the part of the Government stimulated private enterprise, and was finally attended with some unfortunate consequences, has been already shown (p. 360). The decade that followed 1880 was largely spent in retrieving the disasters of this period of expansion and development. But the colonists were by no means inclined to curtail the powers and the activity of the Government, because it had, indirectly, been the cause of a period of depression. On the contrary, they continually increased the area of State control. For into these far-off islands swept the wave of socialistic feeling which has in recent years been flowing around the world. The New Zealanders have not indeed become professed State Socialists, nor have they passed revolutionary legislation. But prosperous, successful, building up a new civilization, and easily emancipating themselves from the traditions of the past, they have considered their country well fitted to work out political and social reforms. Accordingly, they have little by little enlarged the powers and functions of government. The vexed question of land ownership has received a partial solution, as the State, instead of selling the Crown lands, more commonly retains its ownership of them and leases them to villages or to individuals. Railroads, telegraphs, and telephone systems are also owned by the State, and hospitals and lunatic asylums are under its control. It conducts a large life insurance business, takes charge of conveyancing and the investigation of land titles, and maintains a public trustee who looks after, not only intestate estates, but all those which are settled with difficulty. In raising its revenues the State recognizes the principle of inequality; for both lands and incomes are assessed in proportion to their value or amount. Small farms and incomes below £333 pay nothing to the State. Farms

worth £5000 or more than that sum are assessed according to a graduated scale. Incomes between £300 and £1300 pay sixpence in the pound; incomes larger than £1300 pay a shilling.

To the labor question much attention has been given, and some radical measures have been taken to prevent wasting conflicts between workingmen and capitalists. In every mining or manufacturing district is established a Board of Conciliation, which is composed of representatives of the laborers and their employers, and to which all disputes between these two classes are first referred. But each side is so vitally interested in the question at issue, that these local boards are usually unable to make their decision respected, and an appeal to a higher tribunal becomes necessary. In such cases the Central Court of Arbitration takes the disputed matter in hand and passes judgment upon it. As the verdict given by this court can be legally enforced, it is always accepted without question. And certainly the composition of the court is such that its decisions ought to carry weight. Only three members belong to it, one of whom represents labor, one capital, while the third is a judge of the Supreme Court. It is difficult to see how this important tribunal could be made up in a fairer way.

Although the labor laws of New Zealand are numerous, few of them besides those that concern arbitration can be said to differ essentially from those of other countries. They are designed to make employers liable for accidents to their employees, to protect seamen and miners, to prevent the sweating system, to regulate the hours of factory operatives, to secure weekly half-holidays for certain classes of working-people, and in many ways to secure justice to the laboring man and to lighten his burden. But the Servants, Registry Offices Act may be specially mentioned, as illustrating a tendency toward State socialism, for it gives the Government entire control over employment offices. None but persons of good character are allowed to conduct such offices, and only the fee that the Government prescribes can be charged. It may also be noted that trade-unions have the right to become corporate bodies, and as such are able to sue and to be sued.

Such being the legislative tendencies of New Zealand, it is not surprising that this enterprising and democratic country should adopt a radical plan of giving relief to the aged. The

question of Old Age Pensions has been widely discussed, and has been seriously considered by the legislatures of various countries. Even in England a committee was appointed in 1896 to examine into the feasibility of the manifold schemes of this character. But while other countries have deliberated, New Zealand has taken action. On October 20, 1898, the New Zealand House of Representatives voted to grant a pension of £18 per annum to persons sixty-five years of age and upward, of good moral character, who have resided in the colony twenty-five years, and whose income does not exceed £34. It will be seen that the purport of the measure is to secure to all persons in their declining years a sure income of as much as a pound a week.

The Constitution of New Zealand has received some modifications, but it is fundamentally the same that was framed and adopted in 1852. The connection with the mother-country is preserved through the Governor-General, who is appointed by the Crown. The legislative branch of the Government consists of a Legislative Council of forty-six members, now appointed by the Crown for seven years, but originally for life, and of a House of Representatives of seventy-four members, who are elected by the people for five years. Responsible ministers, representing the dominant party, constitute with the Governor-General the Executive, and remain in power as long as they retain their majority, or until Parliament is dissolved. For some time a property qualification was required of voters; but in 1872 this limitation of the suffrage was practically abolished. Either a twelve months residence in the islands, or the ownership of real property worth £25, now gives the right to vote. It is worthy of notice that the Maoris are allowed to choose four of their number to sit in the House of Representatives, and also that the franchise was extended to women in 1893.

That New Zealand has made a wide departure from the aristocratic usages and customs of the mother-country is apparent, and her radical and socialistic legislation has attracted much attention. Many are confident that evil results will ultimately come from this legislation; but the New Zealanders themselves, who ought best to understand their own affairs, believe firmly in their institutions.[1]

[1] *The Economic Review*, July 15, 1899.

CHAPTER VIII

SOUTH AFRICA

Toward the end of the fifteenth century it was discovered that vessels could go from the ports of Europe to India by rounding the Cape of Good Hope, and this route was at once made use of, to the great advantage of commerce. But for some time no European settlement was made near this famous point of land, for the advantages of South Africa in soil and climate were unknown. In 1652, however, the Netherlands East India Company established a Colony on the shores of Table Bay. Other colonists followed. Settlers gained possession of a considerable tract of country by purchasing land from the Hottentot chiefs, and they pushed their way northward and eastward, though not without coming into bloody conflicts with the natives. Thus the Dutch became undisputed possessors of South Africa. For nearly a hundred and fifty years after their first settlement was founded at Table Bay they were molested by no European nation. But in 1795 the English wrested the Colony from them, Holland having in that year been made a French province, and fears being entertained in England that the Dutch Colony at the Cape of Good Hope would share a like fate. For French control of this important point would have threatened England's communication with India. Restored to Holland by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, the Colony was again seized by the English in 1806, and was formally ceded to them by the King of the Netherlands for a sum of money in 1815.

But, though now an English possession, the Cape was peopled almost entirely by Dutch. Only gradually did English settlers become numerous and English customs and the English language supersede those of the older colonists. Not till 1826 did the process of Anglicizing the Colony actively begin. In that year an Executive Council was appointed to advise with the

Governor; and a supreme court, which set aside the old Dutch system of rendering justice, was established. But these innovations gave great offence to the Dutch inhabitants, who differed in many ways from the English settlers. The Dutch Boers were industrious, pious, and upright, but narrow and unprogressive. They lacked the Anglo-Saxon instinct for political development. Moreover, interpreting the Bible in a strictly literal way, they found in the Old Testament ample warrant for holding the native Africans in slavery. Accordingly, their discontent, which had for a long time been growing, became bitter and outspoken in 1834, when the British Parliament abolished slavery in the Colonies. They were a sturdy people, jealously clinging to their independence; and many of them now determined to take themselves out of the reach of English rule. Selling their possessions, many of them "trekked" eastward with their cattle, flocks, and wagons into the territory which is now comprised by the Colony of Natal. Here they attempted in 1839 to establish the "Republic of Natalia," taking the name from that which Vasco de Gama had applied to this portion of South Africa in 1497. For, having sighted it on Christmas Day, he called it Terra Natalis. But the English Government was not at this time willing that any independent state should be established near its own South African Colony. Consequently, armed conflicts followed between the Boers and the troops that were sent to subdue them. Overpowered by numbers, the Dutch submitted, and Natal was proclaimed a British Colony in 1843.

But the Boers were none the less determined to secure their independence. For a number of years the Dutch had been making their way northward across the Orange River, and those who had already settled there were now joined by others who wished to be free from British rule. Here, with a wide river to separate them from the English Colony, they hoped to be entirely their own masters. But their hopes were for a time doomed to be disappointed. The Governor of the Cape Colony issued a proclamation annexing the territory beyond the Orange River, and once more the Dutch took arms to establish their independence. But they were as unsuccessful here as they had been in Natalia. Worsted on the field, they were obliged to recognize the sovereignty of Great Britain; and it was only

when the English Government voluntarily abandoned all claim to the territory in 1854 that the Boer dream of independence was realized. Becoming now the sole owners of the soil, they founded the Orange Free State.

But the Boer movement extended even farther north. At the time when the Dutch malcontents were making their way into Natal, some of the more independent spirits crossed the Vaal River in their endeavor to get entirely beyond the limits of British authority. And though, like the settlers of the Orange Free State, they were at first held to their allegiance to the Crown, they were finally allowed to manage their own affairs and to have a separate national existence. By an agreement made with them in 1852 the British Government granted them complete independence. And, as their scattered communities learned to feel the need of a central government, they united and formed the Transvaal, or South African Republic.

Thus, in assuming full control of her own Colony at the Cape, England caused an extensive Boer emigration and occasioned the founding of two independent Dutch states. But if many Boers left the Cape Colony, many also remained and became thoroughly loyal citizens. Dutch blood is still dominant in the Colony. In each of its parliamentary Houses there is a large majority of Dutch-speaking men. But these men of Dutch descent have become firm believers in English rule, and are ready to promote all reasonable schemes to bring about a federation of the Dutch and English South African Colonies.

But the Dutch were not the only ones to resist the authority of the Colony. Some of the aboriginal tribes in South Africa are brave, fierce peoples, suspicious and jealous of the white man and not afraid to face his destructive weapons with their own primitive implements of warfare. First and last the Kaffirs, Hottentots, and Zulus have given the Dutch and English a good deal of trouble and caused the loss of many lives.

But, in spite of the dissatisfaction of the Dutch and the hostility of the native tribes, the Colony grew, though it was by no means always prosperous. Its original area had, under Dutch control, been comparatively small. By successive annexations its territory was widened, and its population was increased by immigration and by natural growth. And with the expansion of the Colony came the inevitable demand for self-govern-

ment, even as it came in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. As early as 1827 the English Secretary of State received a petition from the colonists, asking for an elected House of Representatives. As the petition was not granted, it was followed by others; and after a time they produced the desired effect. In 1849 the Colony acquired respect by the vigor with which it protested against a project to make it a penal settlement. The project was abandoned, and the colonists, elated by their success in defeating it, clamored for self-government more earnestly than ever. In 1853 they were granted a Constitution which empowered them to choose a Parliament consisting of two Houses. But though representation was thus gained, it did not as yet apply to the executive branch of the Government; for the members of the Executive were appointed by the Crown and were responsible to the Crown for their actions. Hence the Executive did not, as it does in England, fairly represent the popular majority. Sometimes it was in conflict with the members of Parliament; and the colonists grew more and more dissatisfied with a system which really denied them what it pretended to give, the right of managing their own affairs. But in 1872 a more liberal Constitution was proclaimed, after being adopted by the colonial Parliament and receiving the royal sanction. By its provisions the Governor-General and the Executive Council are still appointed by the Crown; but the administration of affairs is largely in the hands of the Prime Minister, who holds office, as in England, as long as he can command a majority in Parliament. As in other English colonies that have responsible government, Parliament consists of an Upper and a Lower House. The members of the Upper House, or Legislative Council, are twenty-two in number and are elected for seven years; those of the Lower House, or House of Assembly, are seventy-four in number and are elected for five years. The suffrage is limited by a property qualification.

But the happy termination of political troubles did not bring unbroken prosperity to the colony. South Africa, with all its natural wealth and resources, presents many obstacles to successful enterprise. Travellers have remarked upon its strange and bewildering contrasts. The climate is healthful on the high plateaus, but malarial near the coasts; and the changes

in temperature are sudden and very great. The rivers are at one time raging torrents and again "feeble trickles of mud."[1] Dust-storms come even where the air is usually pure and exhilarating. Tracts of luxuriant vegetation are interpersed with arid plains. Heavy rains are succeeded by periods of drought; and the cattle that thrive so commonly are in some places stricken down by mysterious disease or by the maddening tsetse fly.

Hence the growth of the Cape Colony was interrupted by seasons of reaction and depression; and not long after the new Constitution was adopted there came a period of stagnation. Droughts and other adverse conditions made trade languish and fall away. But the discovery of the diamond fields near the Vaal River in 1867 brought a revival of prosperity. It was soon found that some of the mines were exceedingly productive, and thus a new industry, bringing enormous returns to the Colony, was securely established. True, the most valuable mines are in the Orange Free State; but some are in the borders of Cape Colony, and those outside of it have been developed largely by the capital of its own inhabitants.

But the mineral wealth of South Africa is by no means limited to its diamonds. Extensive deposits of gold, silver, iron, lead, and coal are found in the various Dutch and English possessions, the South African Republic (Transvaal) being especially rich in minerals; and copper has been mined from Namaqualand, in the adjoining German territory, by two English companies for half a century. But most of these mineral deposits have been found since the discovery of diamonds in 1867, and none of them have yet yielded very large profits excepting that of gold. This metal exists in various parts of Cape Colony; but the only rich deposits thus far discovered are in the South African Republic. At Witwatersrand, about thirty-five miles south of Pretoria, there are gold fields of immense value. They were first worked in 1886, but they soon proved to be among the richest in the world. In their vicinity has sprung up the flourishing city of Johannesburg, which now has a population of 70,000. The shares of the Witwatersrand gold-mining companies increased rapidly in value, and the owners of them, both in England and South Africa, became very wealthy.

[1] Bryce's "Impressions of South Africa," p. 8.

Thus the Cape Colony passed from the season of depression that visited it in the latter sixties to an era of great prosperity. The resources of the country were developed. Its sheep pastures are rich and extensive, and the amount of wool exported yearly has grown to be very large. The value of this export in 1897 was £1,496,779. A large quantity of this staple is also consumed in home manufactures, which are slowly increasing.[1] Thus the country is growing wealthy. Large fortunes have been made from diamonds, gold, and wool; and with large fortunes have come large ambitions. Under Anglo-Saxon rule and influence the Colony has taken an aggressive attitude which its Dutch inhabitants never would have assumed. For a number of years an English resident of Cape Colony has filled the minds of its people with vast schemes of expansion and federation. This man is the Hon. Cecil Rhodes, who left England to recruit his health in South Africa just before 1870.

He was at that time about thirty years of age. In the mild climate of his new home he grew strong and rugged; and along with bodily health he developed commanding ability and a forceful personality. By effecting a consolidation of various separate mining companies he acquired an enormous fortune; but he has apparently valued wealth as a source of power rather than as a means of luxurious living. Having become the most important figure in South Africa, he determined to use all his resources and ability to further British influence in that region. Thirty years ago Great Britain's possessions in South Africa were limited to Natal and the Cape Colony, and the area of the latter province was smaller than it is at the present time. Nor was the English Government then anxious to increase the extent of its South African territory. But in 1871 Basutoland, with an area of 10,000 square miles, was annexed to Cape Colony because of the unhappy condition of its native inhabitants, who had suffered severely in war and who appealed to the British for protection. In 1874 the Conservatives came into power in England, and how they attempted to carry out an ambitious imperial policy under Lord Beaconsfield's leader-

[1] Mr. Bryce thinks, and with apparent reason, that any considerable development of manufacturing industries in South Africa is improbable. The inferior quality of the coal, the lack of water-power in the rivers, and the scarcity of skilled labor put great difficulties in the way of manufacturing enterprise. "Impressions of South Africa," pp. 459 *et seq.*

ship has already been related (p. 305). That policy embroiled the Government of Cape Colony both with the Dutch and with the Zulus, and led to the temporary annexation of the South African Republic. The Republic was finally granted its independence under England's suzerainty when the Liberals came again into power in England; but the trouble with the Zulus was not easily settled. Finally, however, a portion of their country was incorporated into the South African Republic; and the remainder, comprising about 9000 square miles, was, in 1887, declared British territory, and was placed under the authority of Natal and a commissioner and magistrates. In the same year, Annatongaland, lying north of Zululand and having an area of 5300 square miles, was brought under the sovereignty of Great Britain by a treaty with Zambilli, its queen regent. And before this a still more decided step in territorial expansion had been taken; for in 1885 Bechuanaland, as far as the Molopo River, was proclaimed to be a part of the Queen's dominions, in order that the people of Cape Colony might control the trade route to the interior. Thus a tract of 10,000 square miles was gained for British South Africa; and not long afterward an additional tract to the north, containing 386,000 square miles, was brought under British sovereignty under the name of the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

These additions to the British domains in South Africa were altogether pleasing to Mr. Rhodes, but they by no means satisfied him. To the north of the Bechuanaland Protectorate he saw an immense region, stretching to the southern boundary of the Congo Free State, which he was extremely anxious that England should acquire. For if England did not seize it, some other nation surely would. The explorations of Stanley and others had revealed the resources of Africa and awakened the cupidity of the powers of Europe. The stronger states were becoming filled with colonial ambition. Germany, France, Italy, and Portugal were laying hold of African territory with eager hands. Unless Great Britain claimed her share with prompt decision, there would soon be nothing left to acquire. But the British Government was slow to recognize its opportunity, and had it not been for the energy of Mr. Rhodes, the immense basin of the upper Zambesi River would have passed

into the hands of Germany and Portugal; for these powers possess the coast region on either hand. But Mr. Rhodes, seeing that England's imperial ambition was not to be aroused, determined to get possession of the desired territory for purposes of trade. Accordingly, he joined with others in founding the British South Africa Company and gained for it a royal charter, by which it was empowered to take possession of and administer the country lying north and south of the Zambesi and west of Portuguese East Africa. As the company undertook to maintain order at its own expense in this vast tract, comprising 750,000 square miles, the English Government was thus able to control the territory and to consider it a part of the South African domains. Ultimately England will undoubtedly relieve the company of its responsibility and take the management of the territory into its own hands. Thus the British Colonies in South Africa have acquired ample room for growth and expansion. They now comprise nearly 1,500,000 square miles, an area which is nearly half as great as that of Canada or Australia, and more than ten times as great as that of Great Britain itself. But much of this territory will in all probability never be thickly settled. Of the land recently acquired a good deal is not intrinsically valuable. Some districts are marshy and malarious, others have a thin and sandy soil, and others are arid and unproductive. Yet there remain vast tracts that will be available for grazing and agriculture, and some of the more unpromising regions undoubtedly contain deposits of gold.[1] How great these deposits are is quite uncertain. Explorations to determine their value are now in progress, but it seems certain that for many years to come they will attract capital and labor and will yield at least moderate returns. On the whole, the British possessions in South Africa are a valuable addition to the Empire. Like Canada and Australia, they add greatly to the power and wealth of Great Britain, and give to her surplus population a splendid field for activity and enterprise.

But in the nature of things these newly acquired tracts have not as yet received any political development. Their white population is so scanty that self-government will for some

[1] To understand the value of these new acquisitions of Great Britain in South Africa, consult Bryce's "Impressions of South Africa," Ch. XVII.

time be out of the question. Bechuanaland is ruled by an administrator who acts under the Governor of Cape Colony. The region to the north is controlled by the British South Africa Company, as already stated. Besides Cape Colony, Natal is the only South African British province that has secured responsible government, and this distinction it attained as recently as 1893. Its executive is a Governor, appointed by the Crown, and a responsible Ministry of five members. The parliamentary branch of the government is composed of a Legislative Council of eleven members, who are appointed for ten years by the Governor assisted by the Ministry; and a Legislative Assembly of thirty-seven members, who are elected for four years. As in Cape Colony, the franchise is restricted by a property and an educational test. For in both of these colonies the white population is determined to keep the management of affairs entirely in its own hands, and to withhold the suffrage from the numerous but ignorant native class. Cape Colony, with an area of 221,311 square miles, has about 2,000,000 inhabitants, of whom only 400,000 are white. Natal, with an area of 20,401 square miles, has about 100,000 whites against 500,000 natives and Indians. It is therefore necessary for the whites to guard the franchise with great care. Universal suffrage would make responsible government little better than a farce.

Though much smaller than Cape Colony, Natal possesses advantages of its own. It contains valuable deposits of coal and iron, and it has on the whole a better climate and a richer soil. Therefore, though its growth is slow, its future seems assured.

This discussion of South Africa would hardly be complete without some further consideration of the South African Republic, or the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State, especially after the important things that happened there in 1899. For in that year the animosity that had long existed between the Boers of the Transvaal and the English residents of South Africa caused the outbreak of a most unfortunate war. Ever since the Boers trekked northward in 1836, they have been trying to evade Great Britain's reach and to get entirely out of the current of English life and thought. But they could not place themselves where the Anglo-Saxon lust for land and gold

did not pursue them. In 1877 Great Britain tried to annex their territory (p. 306). In the last decade of the century both their country and their gold aroused the covetous instincts of the Anglo-Saxon.

But the Boers, though deserving sympathy, have yet brought their troubles upon themselves. If they had simply sought isolation, independence, and the meagre comforts of a primitive mode of life, all the world would have felt that they were entitled to what they craved. But the truth is, they have wanted these things, and they have also desired to profit, and to profit greatly, by the enterprise of more restless spirits than themselves. Hence their dealings with other peoples have not been marked by the honesty and straightforwardness that ought to characterize the simple and patriarchal life they maintain. For they are shrewd, crafty, and evasive in their diplomacy; and, while professing a strong love of freedom and independence, they are yet willing to exercise a galling tyranny over those who are within their power.

By annexing them against their will[1] in 1877, Great Britain did them a wrong which they properly resented. But the wrong was righted, and the British Government showed indeed a sincere desire to do the Boers of the Transvaal full justice. To the terms of the treaty that was made between the Transvaal and Great Britain in 1881, the Boers took exception, for its stipulations curtailed their independence to an unreasonable degree. Not only did the treaty provide that the British Government should approve of every treaty made between the Transvaal and a foreign power, but it limited the right of the Transvaal to deal with the natives, and it offended the pride of the Boers by forbidding them to encroach upon the boundaries of their neighbors. Considering, therefore, that these provisions restricted them unduly, the Boers proceeded to set them aside. For in the very year that the treaty was concluded they made a raid into Bechuanaland, and they invaded Zululand and annexed a portion of it. But these high-handed actions did not prevent them from receiving a fair and considerate treatment at the hands of Great Britain. For when Paul Kruger went to England in 1883 to secure a larger measure of

[1] The annexation, though disliked by the Boers, did not cause such widespread resentment among them as has often been supposed. Bryce, p. 159.

autonomy for his people, he obtained about all that he demanded. A new treaty was made with the Transvaal in 1884, and the only restriction that was placed upon its independence was contained in the following article: "The South African Republic will conclude no treaty or engagement with any state or nation other than the Orange Free State, or with any native tribe eastward or westward of the Republic, until the same has been approved by her Majesty the Queen." It is to be noticed that in this provision no mention is made of suzerainty, though a suzerainty may be said to be implied by the very character of the stipulations.

But it was during this very visit to England that President Kruger showed the insincerity of all future claims made by the Boers that their sole desire was to live apart by themselves. For, when asked whether foreigners would be well treated in the Transvaal, he replied that the Boers desired to see the mining resources of the Transvaal developed and would do all they could to further that end. Accordingly, the Uitlanders flocked into the Transvaal after gold was found there in abundance, made Johannesburg a thriving and populous city, and developed the gold mines till they became the most productive in the world.

But they did not find the Boers ready to coöperate, as President Kruger had vouched that they would be. On the contrary, the Boers treated the Uitlanders with the most wanton and high-handed injustice. That the Dutch residents of the Transvaal should have made it extremely difficult for foreigners to obtain the franchise was natural and justifiable. The Boers wished to maintain their own institutions and primitive form of civilization unimpaired; and this they had a perfect right to do. Consequently, they were hardly to be criticised for making a fourteen years' residence in the Transvaal a necessary qualification for voting. But nothing could excuse their unhandsome treatment of the people whom they thus refused to enfranchise. For they made the Uitlanders pay nine-tenths of the taxes of the country, and the revenues thus acquired they spent for the benefit of the Dutch population, but never for the good of the Uitlanders themselves. Johannesburg remained an ill-paved, ill-lighted, and unsanitary city; and, instead of helping the Uitlanders in their mining enterprises,

as Mr. Kruger had promised would be the case, the Boers thwarted and hindered them by unjust monopolies and various petty and tyrannous exactions. Thus they made it clearly apparent that, however much they despised the modern gold-seeker and the civilization he represents, they were determined to benefit to the full by his energy and his enormous gains.

No wonder, then, that the Uitlanders grew more and more restless under such galling treatment. It was their discontent in part, no doubt, that was responsible for the futile invasion of Dr. Jameson in 1895; and it was this same discontent that led to a more orderly attempt to secure justice in the spring of 1899. For at that time the Uitlanders united in demanding reforms of the Boer Government, and in requesting the British Government to see that the reforms were granted. The reforms were twelve in number, and included a fair representation in the Volksraad, cancellation of monopolies, the independence of the courts, and that the heads of the Government of the Transvaal should be answerable to the Volksraad.

The cause of the Uitlanders awakened the interest of the British Government, Mr. Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, being especially ready to exert himself in their behalf. Nor was the Transvaal Government, which really meant President Kruger, unwilling to consider the reforms urged by the Uitlanders and to make concessions. The length of residence necessary for obtaining the franchise was curtailed from fourteen years to nine, and then to seven, and finally to five; and in other respects a willingness to conciliate the Uitlanders was manifested. And yet the negotiations between Great Britain and the Transvaal were at no time satisfactory to the former power, and the longer they were continued the more unpromising did they become. For the crafty Boer Executive was evasive and exasperatingly slow, and in the end he made it plain that he meant to yield nothing without obtaining a corresponding advantage. He conducted the entire diplomatic intercourse as if he were dealing with a power that was ready to regard his country as an equal; but in taking this attitude he made a serious mistake. Mr. Gladstone would perhaps have met him in this spirit; Mr. Chamberlain never had any thought of doing so.

Consequently, when President Kruger announced his terms

after long delay, and it was found that his concessions were made upon the assumption that the Transvaal was a "sovereign international state," the situation at once became serious. To some of the extreme Liberals in Great Britain this assumption gave no offence; but in most Englishmen it roused a feeling of indignation, and the Boer President was accused of shiftiness and insincerity. Even the moderate press now took an aggressive tone, and the warlike preparations which Great Britain had been making as a matter of caution, and without really expecting war, were now pushed forward in a vigorous and determined spirit. The Dutch were equally warlike, and neither country showed any intention of yielding so far as to relieve the strain and prevent the interruption of peaceful relations. Finally, early in October, 1899, the Boers began hostilities and launched their country into a foolish and utterly unnecessary war. It was a war which could end in but one way, and it was one for which the Boers themselves were largely responsible; yet the blame was not chiefly theirs. Unprejudiced observers of events in the Transvaal could not ignore the fact that after all the Uitlanders did not have a thoroughly good cause. They had gone into a foreign state to acquire wealth, and this they got in abundant measure in spite of the exasperating treatment to which they were subjected. Why, then, should the feeble Dutch state, intolerant and tyrannical as its conduct was, have been threatened with force at all? If Great Britain had prepared no armaments to support its demands, but had asked for concessions to the Uitlanders solely on the ground of humanity and justice, concessions would have been made. They would have been long withheld, and, when granted, they would have been meagre and inadequate. But delay and scanty justice would have been infinitely better than a war, the primary cause of which was nothing less than Anglo-Saxon greed.[1]

The Boers of the Transvaal are more crude and ignorant

[1] Mr. Frederick Harrison, who well represents advanced liberal thought in England, denounced the conduct of the British Government unsparingly and declared that Mr. Chamberlain conducted his negotiations with the Transvaal with a view to bringing on war. His criticism of Mr. Chamberlain's policy is partially given in the *Review of Reviews*, October, 1899, p. 389. A powerful vindication of England's policy is given in "The Situation in South Africa," *The Nineteenth Century*, 46 : 522.

than the Dutch in the Orange Free State, and are utterly opposed to progress. In politics, religion, and social life they see no need of growth or change. Paul Kruger, shrewd, bigoted, and narrow, fairly typifies the spirit of the nation. Numbering not much above fifty thousand, the Boers of the Transvaal are outnumbered by the Uitlanders; but this great inroad of foreigners only inclined them to cling more stubbornly than ever to their own institutions and ways of life. At the head of the State is the President, who is chosen for five years, and is assisted by an Executive Council of five members. The legislative branch of the Government consists of one chamber, termed the Volksraad. Its members are forty-four in number, and are elected for four years by a suffrage which is almost universal among the Boers themselves. The President has no power to veto the acts of the Legislature; yet the system of government is so far patriarchal that the Volksraad is almost entirely guided and controlled by the Executive. A shrewd and determined President, like Paul Kruger, has practically an absolute sway.

The Orange Free State was led by race sympathy to join with the Transvaal in the war against Great Britain; but it has not had a turbulent political career, for it contains no rich gold mines to bring a rush of Uitlanders into its territory. Indeed, it is an ideal state for all who would avoid the excitements of the modern world. It has no cities, no political parties, and no disturbing social questions. Its people are neither rich nor poor, but they live in entire contentment on the moderate means which are within the reach of all. The Boers themselves number about 70,000, and comprise by far the greater part of the white population. There are less than 150,000 Africans in the country, while in the Transvaal there are more than 600,000. The only village that can fairly be called a town is Bloemfontein, the capital, which has 6000 inhabitants, of whom little more than half are white. The form of government is very much like that of the Transvaal. There is a President elected for five years, an Executive Council of five members, and a Volksraad whose members are chosen for four years, and who make the sole legislative chamber. Here, as in the Transvaal, the President has no power of veto; but here, also, he has become the centre of power. The restric-

tions upon the suffrage are so slight that practically it belongs to all white citizens who make their home in the State. For the Boers have found no occasion to adopt the narrow policy of the Transvaal, and to keep the right of voting exclusively in their own hands.

Such are the Colonies and Republics of South Africa. It is too early to prophesy how or when they will become united. But that they will all ultimately become members of one confederation under Great Britain's control there can be no reasonable doubt.

BOOK III

THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE REPUBLIC

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." These words, spoken by Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg in 1863, are as accurate as they are famous. They point to 1776 as the year when the United States had its national origin, and they point to democracy as its national foundation stone.

It was in 1774 that the First Continental Congress was assembled in Philadelphia, Massachusetts taking the lead in calling it together. But not until 1776 were the members of Congress ready to declare the colonies free and independent; for the Americans were at first desirous of forcing England to treat them with fairness and justice rather than of severing all ties with the mother-country. Gradually, however, they learned to see the meaning of the conflict in which they were engaged. On July 4, 1776, the Philadelphia Congress adopted the famous Declaration of Independence, and the birth of a new nation was accomplished.

Not all at once, however, could the nation show itself strong, self-assertive, and able to exercise vigorously all the functions of government. Remembering the tyranny of Great Britain, the Colonies clung jealously to their own rights. They adopted Constitutions for themselves, and thereby became independent and sovereign States instead of colonies; but they were slow to see that a Constitution was needed for all the States in common, that thereby they might have a strong central government and acquire the respect of other nations. Moreover, the war with Great Britain absorbed the energies of Congress, and that body did not go farther in the direction of nation-making than to draw up thirteen Articles of Confederation for the States to adopt, if they saw fit.

Eleven of the States did adopt them in 1778, and thus a rude and imperfect form of national government came into being. For the Articles gave the United States authority to treat with foreign powers; to declare war; to appoint officers for the army and the navy; to control military affairs; to levy taxes; to fix the standard of money, weights, and measures; to manage Indian affairs; and to establish post-offices. But this government was after all a government only in name. It did not have distinct executive, legislative, and judicial departments, and no one was empowered to enforce its authority. In short, it was utterly lacking in centralized power.

Accordingly, when the war for independence was ended and the occupations of peace were resumed, the people of the States became more and more restless under this weak and inefficient control. They found themselves unable to collect their debts, to obtain protection from the courts, or to make trade and industry prosper. Slowly but surely the need of a strong central government made itself manifest, and a convention was finally called by the States to assemble and to take into consideration the condition of the United States. On May 4, 1787, the convention met at Philadelphia in Independence Hall. The ablest political leaders and thinkers of the country were among its members, and its discussions were weighty, prolonged, and sometimes marked by radical differences of opinion. More than once, indeed, it seemed inevitable that the convention should break up without accomplishing the object for which it was called together. But, after sitting four months, it gave its sanction to a Constitution and submitted it to the States for their approval. Very slowly and reluctantly was this approval given on the part of some of the States. New York, in particular, was quite unwilling to adopt the new Constitution, and was only made to do so by the convincing arguments of Alexander Hamilton. Virginia also took the decisive step only after much hesitation. But after these two great and strong States had set the example, the result was never in doubt. Nine States finally ratified the Constitution, and thus, according to the Convention, it became the law of the land. Two States, however, North Carolina and Rhode Island, did not adopt it until the newly established government was in operation.

By providing a distinct executive, legislative, and judiciary,

and by giving to each of these branches of government clearly defined and adequate powers, the Constitution made a powerful and efficient central government possible. And that the powers are in almost every case adequate and well defined has been proved by the experience of a hundred years. To the President, to the Congress, and to the national courts of justice were given that measure of authority that was necessary for a successful administration of affairs; for the three branches are perhaps as perfectly balanced as human wisdom could make them.[1] No one of the three could receive any considerable increase of power without impairing the efficiency of the other two and endangering the democratic character of our institutions. It is true that abuses have grown up under the Constitution. The President's appointing power has been used to reward party service in a scandalous manner, and Congress has exercised its right to tax and to coin money with questionable freedom. But such abuses do not necessarily indicate that the Constitution itself is defective. Rather do they show that in a democracy the character of the government depends upon the character of the governed. Popular prejudice, popular error, popular condonement of public immorality, are chiefly responsible for political scandals and corruptions. The civil service began to grow pure when the people demanded that it should be pure. And the national legislation will be sane, rational, and economical when Congressmen are not allowed to abuse their constitutional authority without rebuke.

It must be admitted that the clauses in the Constitution that give Congress the right to tax and to coin money are very general in character, and therefore bestow a power which is almost unlimited in its scope. But this could not be otherwise. The fundamental law of the land could not prescribe either the manner in which these important powers should be exercised, or the extent of the authority they convey. Such matters of detail were necessarily left to the judgment of Congress, which must have freedom to decide questions of coinage and taxation as the needs of the nation may from time to time require. That Congress has interpreted the taxation and coinage clauses

[1] Some students of American politics take a different view. Consult Wilson's "Congressional Government," and Bryce's "The American Commonwealth," Vol. I. Ch. XXI. (second edition revised, 1891).

properly, and has used the authority they bestow in a strictly constitutional manner, has been denied and always will be denied. Indeed, the interpretation of these two clauses has been directly or indirectly the origin of much of the fiercest party strife that the nation has known. For some consider that it is unconstitutional to impose taxes for any other purpose than that of raising revenue, or to make the coinage clause cover the right to establish a legal tender; while others believe that it is strictly constitutional to tax for the purpose of protecting and encouraging industry, and to force a coin into circulation by making it legal tender. But these differing schools of political thinkers did not come into existence because the language of the Constitution is loose and inadequate. They arose from two opposite tendencies of human thought. For whenever a document is under discussion, be it religious, political, or concerned with everyday affairs, there will always be found some who interpret it by the letter and others who judge it by its spirit. Hence the Constitution will always have its broad and its literal constructionists; and its true meaning will come to light through the arguments and the political action of these two classes of expounders.

That the Constitution is perfect it would be absurd to state; for such an instrument reflects the limitations of its founders and of the period when it was framed. From time to time it has been necessary to amend it; but the very character of the amendments is a tribute to its excellence. For they have always been designed to supplement and complete it, never to destroy or undo anything that was vital and fundamental. In constructing it, its framers did a noble work and earned the lasting gratitude of the country. Indeed, they builded better than they knew, for they could not foresee what difficulties and dangers the Republic would have to meet by the aid of this fundamental law. They did not realize that the country would grow vast until only the telegraph and the steam railway could hold its parts together and give them unity of thought and life. They did not know what mischief would be wrought by the spoils system, by financial heresies, and by extravagant legislation. Nor did they see that the cloud of slavery, then no bigger than a man's hand above the political horizon, was to overspread the sky.

CHAPTER II

ADMINISTRATIONS OF WASHINGTON, ADAMS, AND JEFFERSON

New York was the first capital of the Republic, and Washington was its first President. Born in 1732, the great Virginian was in the full vigor of his powers, and was able to guide the young and struggling nation through perilous seas. From the first day of his administration he found his task an arduous one. Already was the country disturbed by virulent party warfare; for the Federalists, who believed that the Constitution gave the government full and satisfactory powers, were vehemently opposed by the Anti-Federalists, who were enemies of centralization and stood ready to accuse Congress and the President of abusing their authority. Even the Cabinet was not free from the dissensions of these rival factions; for Washington made Hamilton, the leader of the Federalists, Secretary of the Treasury, while Jefferson, the foremost statesman of the Anti-Federalist party, served for a time as Secretary of State. These two engaged in many heated and acrimonious discussions; but Jefferson retired from office early in 1794, while Hamilton retained his position in the Cabinet and continued to render the country those services whose value it is hard to overestimate. It was through his influence that the United States undertook to pay all sums which the Confederation had owed to foreigners, to receive the worthless continental currency and give good money in exchange for it, and to become responsible for all those debts which the States had incurred while acting for the good of the whole country. The last measure excited much opposition, however, and was only carried through Congress by means of a political bargain. It happened that the question of choosing a permanent capital city for the country was under discussion, and Hamilton won two Virginia Congressmen to his side by promising to use his

influence in favor of a site upon the Potomac. Thus the passage of the obnoxious measure was secured, and the Republic proved itself a thoroughly honest debtor. Henceforth its credit was good all over the world.

But Hamilton did not end his financial services to the country by seeing that it paid its debts. In order to bring the Government into close relations with the operations of business and commerce, he secured the establishment of a national bank under a United States charter. This project was not carried through without encountering the opposition of the Anti-Federalists, who saw in it a scheme to fortify the central authority, and who finally succeeded, with the aid of Jackson, in bringing the institution to an end. But the bank did good service for many years; and, although it might possibly have been a source of corruption under present political conditions, it did not, while it lasted, promote those dishonest schemes which the Anti-Federalists, and afterwards the Democrats, continually laid at its doors.

More important than the question of a national bank was that of raising a revenue. To this matter Hamilton gave much thought and Congress devoted much discussion. Direct taxation was not in favor, and it was finally decided to tax imports and spirituous liquors made in the country. The duty on imports was imposed chiefly for the purpose of securing an income for the Government; but even in those early days it gave a certain measure of protection to native industries,[1] and as the duties were raised again and again, their protective character assumed an ever increasing importance. Already therefore, in the very beginnings of the nation's history, the taxation clause is so interpreted as to give rise to those profound political differences which are as great to-day as they were a hundred years ago. So also did the tax on spirituous liquors have an importance beyond that of swelling the national revenues. For it established the right of the Government to tax its citizens, and thus greatly helped to strengthen its authority.

These various financial measures, which were for the most part attributable to Hamilton's genius, did much to win the

[1] Schouler's "United States," I. 86 *et seq.*; R. W. Thompson's "History of the Protective Tariff Laws," Ch. V.; Orrin Leslie Elliot's "Tariff Controversy in the United States," 1789–1833, pp. 70–73.

Republic the respect of foreign nations; but England and France, the two powers with which it was especially desirous of having intercourse, were slow to give it the treatment due to an equal. England, being at war with France, claimed the right to search vessels for seamen of British birth, to seize provisions for the enemy which she might find in neutral vessels, and to appropriate the produce of French Colonies wherever found; while France sent to America a mischievous character named Genet, to excite sentiment in favor of his country and issue commissions to privateers. This manifest violation of neutrality Washington promptly brought to an end, but even he could not control the rancorous antagonism of the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists, who espoused respectively the cause of England and of France, and who made the country ring with their belligerent cries. Apparently, each party was willing to plunge the country into war with the nation it disliked, and to have it become the armed ally of the one it favored. In 1795 war with England seemed so imminent that Washington sent John Jay to London to avert it; and though the treaty which Jay arranged still left England the right to search American vessels and was in other respects unsatisfactory, it was ratified by the Senate and signed by Washington. A loud outcry was raised against it when its provisions were known; but Washington undoubtedly did right in giving it his signature, as he thereby saved the country from a conflict for which it was ill prepared. Moreover, merely by securing a treaty, though an imperfect one, from so great a power as England, the Republic gained strength and dignity before the world.

Less important than this treaty, but nevertheless indicative of the nation's growing strength, was one that was made with Spain in the course of the same year. For the Spaniards claimed that they owned the Mississippi River as well as the country west of it, and had given great annoyance to the settlers in Kentucky and Tennessee, who desired to send their produce to New Orleans by boat. This privilege the Government secured for them by the Mississippi Treaty, which gave both Spain and the United States the free use of the river.

On its own soil also the Government found opportunities of asserting itself. For Anthony Wayne crushed the Indians in

the West after they had gained two signal victories over careless generals; and an insurrection which broke out in Pennsylvania was promptly suppressed by military force. It was occasioned by the resistance of the settlers to the tax on distilled spirits; but the insurgents gave way when they found themselves pitted against the armed strength of the Government.

Thus the young nation was steadily gaining in power under its first Executive. Washington retired from public life at the end of his second term, and he could look with entire satisfaction upon the progress made during his two administrations. The Constitution had proved adequate under the government which it had established, the weakness and instability of the Confederation had passed away, and the country had grown and flourished in spite of serious obstacles. It had met its financial obligations, raised its own revenues, treated with two foreign powers, avoided war under great provocation, enforced law, and suppressed insurrection. The Republic therefore was no longer a mere experiment. Through Washington's wise guidance it had become a nation.

The second President of the United States was John Adams, a man narrow, obstinate, and quarrelsome, but inflexible in his devotion to the public welfare. This devotion he had ample opportunity to show during his single term of office; for, by preferring the good of the whole country to the demands of his own party, he wrought the downfall of the Federalists. Through prestige rather than through numbers the Federalists had maintained their ascendency up to this time and had elected their candidate, Adams, by a small majority in the Electoral College. But their lack of moderation and foresight now proved their undoing. During the earlier portion of Adams's administration the Anti-Federalists were under a cloud. For French cruisers seized hundreds of American vessels; and when a special embassy was sent to France to remonstrate, it was met with insulting and dishonest proposals. These proposals were indignantly rejected and the ambassadors were ordered to leave France. They did so; but when the treatment they had received was made known in the United States, a storm of indignation swept over the land. France and all its partisans were severely condemned, and the Feder-

alists now had a great opportunity. But, instead of making the most of it, they now passed the Alien and Sedition Laws and compassed their own ruin. By the Alien Laws the President could send out of the country any foreigner whom he considered dangerous to its peace; and by the Sedition Laws he could fine and imprison those guilty of conspiring against the Government, or acting maliciously toward it.

In passing these laws the Federalists had counted on the support of the country, but they only succeeded in exciting the alarm of the opponents of centralization. The new laws were widely censured. The legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky even declared them unconstitutional, and threatened to withhold allegiance to the Government. Moreover, a new embassy was sent to France and was favorably received by Napoleon Bonaparte, who now directed French policy. The cruisers ceased to capture American vessels, and a satisfactory treaty between the two countries was concluded. Toward this result Adams himself labored assiduously, preferring peace to an ignoble party triumph. But the Federalists felt that they were abandoned by their leader; and as England, whose interests they had championed, still acted in an overbearing manner, their policy had nothing to recommend it to the country. Unable to avert political defeat, they held Adams responsible for their loss of prestige and power, and bitterly accused him of ingratitude toward those who had secured him his high office. But Adams's course had been too patriotic to be justly open to censure; and even the Federalists ultimately acknowledged this by endeavoring to secure his reëlection. He received sixty-five votes in the Electoral College; but Jefferson and Burr each had seventy-three, and the election was therefore thrown upon the House of Representatives.[1] In that body Jefferson received a majority, and the Anti-Federalists, who were now called National Republicans, thus completed their triumph over their political opponents.

Thomas Jefferson is remembered chiefly as a writer and thinker, but as an Executive he showed unusual capacity. He

[1] It was owing to the troubles that arose from this electoral contest that the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution was passed in 1804, and electors were thenceforth required to vote separately for President and Vice-President. Before this an elector balloted for two names, without specifying the office each of his two candidates was to hold.

was reëlected in 1804, and, during his two administrations, he reduced the public debt, fortified the seaports, lightened taxation, rendered the militia more efficient, and secured lands from the Indians by giving them fair compensation and inducing them to migrate west of the Mississippi. With the help of Decatur he also humbled the Barbary pirates, who infested the Mediterranean and seriously interfered with the commerce of maritime nations. But unquestionably the greatest service that Jefferson rendered the country was the purchase of the Louisiana tract, in 1803. Pressed by the exigencies of war, Napoleon parted with that vast territory for the sum of fifteen million dollars. In assuming the authority to make the purchase, Jefferson clearly went beyond the powers delegated to him by the Constitution, and thereby showed strikingly how political theory must sometimes give way to national requirements.[1] For he, the avowed champion of the Anti-Federalists, greatly strengthened the central Government. But, whatever may be thought of his consistency, he conferred a vast benefit upon the country by this action, which was ratified by Congress and heartily approved by the people.

Not equally successful was Jefferson's management of our foreign relations. France and England were still at war, and, in their efforts to cripple each other's commerce, they practised high-handed tyranny upon the sea. Napoleon claimed the right to seize all vessels trading with England or her Colonies; while England prohibited all commerce with France or her allies. Thus the growing trade of America was checked, and Jefferson determined to bring these two arrogant nations to terms by an act of retaliation. He therefore persuaded Congress to pass an Embargo Bill, which forbade United States vessels to leave American ports for Europe. But it was the United States that suffered chiefly from this measure. For the nation soon grew impoverished, and discontent became

[1] Jefferson himself said of the purchase, in his correspondence: "The Executive, in seizing the fugitive occurrence which so much advances the good of the country, has done an act beyond the Constitution. The Legislature, in casting behind them metaphysical subtleties, and risking themselves like faithful servants, must ratify and pay for it, and throw themselves on the country for doing for them, unauthorized, what we know they would have done for themselves had they been in a situation to do it." — "Works," IV. 500 (edition published at Washington in 1853).

widespread. So the Embargo Bill was repealed, and in its place was passed a Non-Intercourse Act, which allowed commerce with other European countries than England and France. By this measure the situation was improved, but was still strained and difficult. Only wise statesmanship could keep the nation from ultimately engaging in war with one or the other of these two powers.

During Jefferson's administrations new lands were occupied and cultivated, and the Republic steadily grew in population. The valley of the Ohio was now becoming settled, and there was a continuous flow of hardy pioneers across the southern stretches of the Alleghany Mountains into the "dark and bloody ground." And significant it was that the first successful application of steam to navigation was contemporaneous with this early westward migration. Robert Fulton's [1] first steamboat, the *Clermont*, plied on the Hudson in 1807; and this invention meant much more than rapid transit on the water. It meant that American ingenuity was at work; that successive inventions were to triumph over distance and multiply the power of human labor; and that thus the vast extent of the country was to offer no barrier to intercourse, and its vast resources were to be made available for national prosperity.

But more important than this external growth of the country was a quiet movement that attracted no attention at the time. The Supreme Court of the land was helping to solidify the nation. Its justices were able men, and their decisions were, on the whole, in favor of national unity and against State sovereignty. Of these justices the ablest was John Marshall of Virginia. His remarkable breadth of mind and his profound knowledge of the law, used as they were to strengthen the power of the central Government, were of inestimable service to the American people.[2]

[1] John Fitch was the real inventor of the steamboat. As early as 1790 a small steam vessel, constructed by him, carried passengers up and down the Delaware during the entire summer.

[2] It is impossible to understand thoroughly the political history of the United States without studying the more important decisions of the Supreme Bench, especially those rendered while the nation was still in its infancy and the powers of the central Government were not clearly apprehended. Consult Boyd's "Cases on Constitutional Law"; or the larger collection of cases by Professor Thayer.

CHAPTER III

THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF MADISON, MONROE, AND JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

Jefferson was succeeded by James Madison, also a Republican, on March 4, 1809. The very day that Madison assumed office the Non-Intercourse Act went into operation, and the measure seemed ominous of the troubles of the administration. For France and England were still injuring our commerce by their tyrannical edicts, the conduct of the latter power being particularly offensive. Its warships seized hundreds of American vessels and impressed thousands of American seamen; while Napoleon, seeing that these high-handed actions roused the bitterest resentment in the United States, determined to profit by the situation. He promised that, so far as the United States was concerned, he would withdraw his decrees prohibiting commerce with England. Madison was duped by the promise. At his recommendation Congress repealed the Non-Intercourse Act so far as it related to France; and the relations between the United States and England became exceedingly strained. England's aggressions upon the sea did not cease. The war party in the United States became urgent and clamorous. Hence, even though Napoleon never repealed his obnoxious edicts as he had promised, Madison consented to a declaration of war against England, which was formally made on June 18, 1812.

The war lasted two years and a half. The Americans suffered several defeats through inferior generalship; yet they won some signal victories on land, and on the sea they were almost uniformly victorious. But as the war dragged on, it was seen to have no sufficient cause, and both nations became tired of it. So peace was signed on December 24, 1814.

By the terms of the treaty England did not agree to abandon

the right to search American vessels; but the right was no longer exercised, and the United States thus derived a substantial advantage from the war. More important than this gain, however, was the respect which the Republic acquired all over the civilized world. Six months after peace was established with Great Britain, Decatur humbled the Barbary States a second time; and this success, added to the naval victories gained in the recent war, gave the United States the character of a powerful and independent nation. Moreover, the War of 1812 revealed the growth of a truly national character. Of the men of 1755 Parkman writes, "The colonist was not then an American; he was simply a provincial, — and a narrow one."[1] Perhaps this could not have been said at the close of the Revolution; but at any rate it could not be said after the War of 1812. The victories of the American navy were truly national victories. They were won by no accident. They were due to the intelligence, the alertness, the enthusiasm, and the rapid movements of the American seamen. Already it was becoming apparent that "a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal" must produce its own peculiar type of citizen.

A further result of the war was the change that was now made in the character of the nation's financial legislation. For, after peace was established, Congress found that domestic commerce was paralyzed, foreign trade crippled, and the country burdened with a debt of one hundred million dollars. Accordingly, it not only resorted to increased taxation for the purpose of filling the depleted treasury, but it also adopted a distinctive protective policy in order to encourage the languishing industries of the country. In particular, it was desired that the cotton grown in the South should be made into fabrics by domestic labor; for England was taxing American cotton in order to stimulate cotton raising in India, and was thus injuring the market for the South's staple product. So a new tariff law was passed in 1816; and though the duties it established were still moderate, averaging only about fifteen per cent, they were still high enough to accomplish what was expected from them. The Southern planter now found a market for his cotton in New England, where cotton cloths began to be made

[1] "Montcalm and Wolfe," I. 169.

in great quantities; manufacturers grew rich, and men and women found employment in the factories. Thus the nation became committed to the policy of protection, and the tariff law of 1816 must be considered the most important event of Madison's administrations; for, though it brought immediate prosperity, it soon helped to divide the North and the South and to intensify party warfare.

In 1817 Madison was succeeded by James Monroe of Virginia, who was reëlected in 1820. The period covered by his two administrations has been called the Era of Good Feeling; for the people of the country forgot the animosities of party under the influence of prosperity and universal contentment. Yet political dissension had not died out of the nation. On the contrary it was striking its roots deeper than ever. Very soon the old quarrel between the supporters of the central Government and the champions of State rights was to break out again; and even in Monroe's first administration there were heard mutterings of the coming storm. For slavery, recognized, though not formally and explicitly countenanced, in the Constitution, had developed a vast political significance, and now began to force itself upon the attention of the nation. The framers of the Constitution expected slavery to die of itself in the course of no long period of years; so they said as little about it as possible. But the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney, in 1793, prevented this expectation from becoming realized. It made slave labor valuable. To the Southern planter cotton stood for wealth, and the negro for the tool that brought this wealth into his coffers. Hence, he began to regard slavery as vital to the prosperity of the South. He would not hear of its decline. He imperiously demanded that it should grow and flourish.

Thus slavery became part of the very fibre of Southern life. It gave a peculiar character to the entire region that cherished it. Indeed, it caused a distinct and special type of civilization to grow up in the United States; for the institution exercised a separative influence, from whatever side it was regarded. Its various aspects therefore demand a moment's attention. It may appropriately be considered from the social, the economic, and the humanitarian points of view.

I. The influence of slavery upon the social life of the

South was profound and far-reaching. Life on a Southern plantation was almost ideally delightful; ease, dreamy quiet, repose, and languor steeped the very atmosphere. The asperities, the fierce excitements, and the wearing competitions of business life were absent. On the best estates high-bred manners, social grace, and the most generous hospitality were conspicuous. The plantations being extensive, and families, in consequence, being separated by considerable distances, neighborly intercourse took a very different character from that of a New England village. The planters kept open house, welcomed all their friends from the surrounding country, and visits were measured by days and weeks rather than by hours. Education was not developed as it was in New England, but the intellectual life was by no means barren. The planter read and studied much in the solitude of his own library, and discussed politics at length when he visited the estates adjoining his own. He had the genius for affairs that belongs to the English character. Southern statesmen have been conspicuous for political learning, intellectual vigor, and keenness in debate. Nor were profound scholarship and scientific research unknown on the Southern plantation. But the indolence engendered by slavery made such mental achievement unprofitable to the world at large. The slave-owner studied and acquired, but he did not publish. Even in his intellectual pursuits he was rather the gentleman of leisure than the scholar. The unrest of the modern world did not reach and possess him.

II. Economically considered, slavery was a great hindrance to Southern prosperity. The immense mineral resources of the South were neglected. The wealth of her forests was hardly touched. Factories were almost unknown. Cotton was king. Nearly all other products were passed by in favor of this one staple article. From some of the States rice, turpentine, and other articles were exported; but corn, bacon, and various foods were produced chiefly to satisfy home consumption and maintain the slaves. It was on cotton that the planter relied for his yearly income.

Thus the whole South was only half developed; its industries were narrowed, its faculties were without due stimulus. Its people lacked variety of occupation. Their ingenuity

received no exercise. They were not trained to do all things for themselves, as they found to their sorrow when the Civil War came. Moreover, slave labor was very costly. The freeman works with intelligence, with care, with thrift, with energy. The slave is stupid, clumsy, wasteful, and listless in performing his appointed tasks. He plies his tools with indolence and breaks them often. It is asserted that one freeman in the North did as much as two or three negro slaves.

III. The cruelty of slavery in the Southern States has often been exaggerated; but at best the institution was not a humane one. In Virginia the negroes were well off. They were treated with great kindness, were sometimes regarded with affection, and, on the whole, were a very happy and contented class. They were often deeply attached to their masters; and among the Virginia planters there existed a strong feeling against abusing them. And the same could be said of other parts of the South where the institution existed under the most favorable conditions. Where a planter was kind-hearted and the slaves were not exceptionally stupid, vicious, and indolent, all was well. But many slave-owners were harsh and passionate, and employed brutal overseers to keep the slaves in order. And in some portions of the South the slaves were extremely coarse, brutish, and degraded, and could only be kept in order through fear. In such cases cruelty was common. Moreover, the whole process of slave auctions was a degrading one. Families were separated, men and women were examined and criticised like cattle, and the passion of greed was excited by the sight of human flesh.

Altogether, there was enough that was baneful in the institution to excite the just censure of Northern philanthropists. The strictures of these enthusiasts were indeed undiscriminating and unreasonably severe, but they had some justification. So the Abolitionists lashed the institution unsparingly, and stirred up much bitter feeling between the North and the South.

Thus slavery contributed in every possible way to the rupture of the Union. Its social, its economic, and its humanitarian sides all helped to give Southern life a distinctive character, and to prevent the South from amalgamating with the rest of the country. More and more did the people of the South learn

to think and feel for their own section rather than for the country at large, and more and more did they desire to obtain new territory for the spread of their "peculiar institution." For they were unwilling to see the free States gain the ascendency in the national Congress. Kentucky and Tennessee were properly admitted to the Union as slave States, for they were formed out of territory which the original slave States of the South had ceded to the Government. Nor was objection made to the admission of Louisiana as a slave State in 1812; for her position identified her with the South, and the imminence of war made the question of slavery seem insignificant. But when Missouri applied for admission as a slave State, in 1817, the North began to take alarm. It was now seen that the South meant to carry slavery into the whole Louisiana purchase; and to such an extension of slave territory Northern statesmen were bitterly opposed. Missouri's application therefore aroused fierce discussion in Congress; and, finally, occasioned the passage of the famous Missouri Compromise Bill in 1821. By this bill, which was passed largely through the influence of Henry Clay, slavery was allowed in Missouri, but was forever prohibited in all the territory west of that State and north of its southern border, 36° 30′. Thus, political differences were for the time being adjusted; but the day of trouble was merely postponed.[1] The difficulty was too great to be settled by compromise. Two civilizations were face to face within the borders of the same nation; one of them must eventually give way before the other. So slavery had assumed the place in the national politics that of right belonged to it. For forty years it remained the one vital and absorbing question before the country.

Less threatening to the nation's welfare, yet of grave importance, was a question of foreign policy that now arose; for it was in Monroe's second administration that the famous Monroe Doctrine was first formulated. It owed its origin to the war for independence which was waged by the Spanish Colonies in America against their mother-country. For, seeing

[1] The Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1893 contains an excellent essay on the "Historical Significance of the Missouri Compromise," which shows that this episode was the beginning of the long struggle between the North and the South.

that some of the European powers were inclined to help Spain in her effort to subdue her rebellious provinces (p. 238), President Monroe deemed it best that the United States should utter a warning against foreign aggression. Accordingly, in his message to Congress of December 2, 1823,[1] he says: "We owe it to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

This utterance is strong and uncompromising, but its true nature has been greatly misunderstood. For it was simply an attempt at self-protection. At that time the Republic was young and struggling, popular government was an experiment, and Europe was still, for the most part, under despotic rule. It therefore seemed necessary to warn the powers of Europe that the United States would not allow them to establish anywhere on the American continent despotic governments, which would be a menace to free democratic institutions. But after the Republic became a great and powerful nation, it no longer needed to protect itself against foreign schemes of conquest in the western hemisphere; and the Monroe Doctrine largely lost its significance.

Monroe's second term ended in 1825. John Quincy Adams, who succeeded him, was the son of John Adams, the second President of the United States, and, like his father, he was not reëlected. Honest, fearless, and independent, he yet lacked the qualities that bring popularity. His abilities and his eminent diplomatic services to his country had made him distinguished; but so little enthusiasm did he awaken among the people that Jackson, his leading opponent in the presidential election of 1824, commanded a larger number of votes in the electoral college. Neither of them, however, had a majority, and the House of Representatives was therefore called upon to decide the election, as provided by the Twelfth amendment to the Constitution. Largely through Henry Clay's influence the House elected Adams. As Jackson was the choice of the people at large, this action of the House was denounced by some fierce partisans as unconstitutional. But unquestionably the House acted strictly within its rights. If

[1] "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," II. 218.

it is to decide such cases at all, its decision must be free and not perfunctory. And this view of the matter prevailed throughout the country, which accepted the judgment of the House quietly and without disturbance.

The most important question that came up during Adams's administration was that of State Sovereignty. It was not the negroes, however, but the Indians who now gave this issue prominence. Growing covetous of the tracts occupied by the Creeks and the Cherokees, Georgia tried to eject them, though they held these lands under treaty with the United States. These tribes were partially civilized, and were tilling their lands in peace and contentment; but, instead of protecting them, the national Government allowed Georgia to have its way in the matter, though it first made a vain effort to bribe the Indians to go. During Jackson's administration the Indians were compelled to abandon their lands and move westward; and in a matter where the honor of the country was at stake, an individual State was suffered to act in defiance of a national agreement.

The question of State sovereignty was involved also in the tariff law of 1828, by which the duties upon exports were still further increased. For, by passing this law, Congress added to the discontent of the Southern planters and raised discussions as to the legitimate extent of its own authority. Already was it becoming plain that, as the central Government assumed new powers, its critics would challenge its right to exercise those powers, and that thus two great political parties would always stand arrayed against each other. And as if to illustrate this fundamental political truth, the Era of Good Feeling now came to an end, and the single party that had existed since the collapse of the Federalists was divided into two. One of these two was the legitimate successor of the party which had always embraced the ideas of the Anti-Federalists, and had been in power for twenty years. Its members called themselves Democrats, — a name which they have ever since retained, — and, as if to justify the title, they selected as their candidate for the presidency that thoroughgoing man of the people, Andrew Jackson. For Vice-President they nominated John C. Calhoun. The other party, which took the name of National Republicans, inherited the principles of the early

Federalists; but it was largely a product of the material growth and the expanding powers of the nation. Its members believed that, in order to develop the vast resources of the country and to meet new commercial and agricultural conditions, the powers of the central Government should be amplified and its field of activity enlarged. A high tariff and extensive internal improvements were the cardinal points of its creed. But while these ideas were popular in the North, they were too new to find general acceptance; and, in giving Adams a second nomination, the National Republican party insured its own defeat. For Adams had as little hold as ever upon the common people, while Jackson had an enthusiastic following all over the country. Accordingly, the presidential contest was too one-sided to be exciting, Adams and Rush — the National Republican candidate for Vice-President — obtaining but 83 electoral votes, against 178 cast for their opponents.

But, though deprived of a second presidential term, Adams did not retire to private life. On the contrary, the most creditable portion of his public career was still before him; for he represented Massachusetts in the House of Representatives for twenty years, and fearlessly advocated the right of petition against the intolerance, the threats, and the arrogance of his political opponents. Believing that any citizens in the land had an absolute and sacred right to petition Congress upon whatsoever subject they pleased, he presented to the House numerous petitions upon the burning question of slavery. Naturally, this course aroused the Southern members of Congress to furious resentment, but in the end they learned to respect the lofty courage, the caustic speech, and the uncompromising character of the invincible debater; and when Adams was suddenly stricken with paralysis in the Representative chamber, in 1848, the South mourned equally with the North over the loss of the grand and incorruptible statesman. His services in behalf of free speech entitle him to a high rank among the patriots of the country; and no American ever gave a more splendid example of unswerving devotion to public duty.

CHAPTER IV

THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF JACKSON AND VAN BUREN

The two administrations of Jackson were a period of great national importance. The country gained rapidly in wealth and population, and the public debt was entirely cleared in 1835. The States of Arkansas and Michigan were admitted to the Union. Steam was successfully applied to locomotion, and the railway system was rapidly developed. Industry was promoted by other important inventions, conspicuous among which were the reaping machine and the screw propeller.

But the political happenings of the period were of greater consequence than its material prosperity. From the first Jackson showed himself a vigorous executive, and, right or wrong, acted up to his convictions. He promptly discharged about seven hundred office-holders, because they were not of his party, and thereby inaugurated the vicious spoils system;[1] and he finally attacked the National Bank, which he accused of corruption and denounced as a menace to the free institutions of the country. His charges were not well founded. The bank had done good service in providing the country with a sound and uniform currency and in promoting commercial enterprise. So Congress renewed its charter in 1832. But Jackson vetoed the measure, and as Congress could not pass it over the veto, the bank had to close its affairs when its charter expired, in 1837.

In spite of the unfairness of Jackson's accusations, his hostility toward the bank was not without justification. Such an institution may easily become the seat of corrupt political intrigue, and exert an undue influence upon elections and

[1] Jefferson did the same thing, but his action was not imitated by the Presidents who followed him, and it was less important than Jackson's action because there were comparatively few United States offices in his day.

other national affairs. At any rate, Jackson's conduct met with the approval of the country, for he was renominated by the Democrats in 1832 and triumphantly reëlected over his rival, Henry Clay, who was the candidate of the National Republicans. In the electoral college he received all but 49 out of 288 votes.

With this popular verdict in his favor Jackson did not allow his warfare on the bank to cease. He gave orders that the government revenues should be deposited in the State banks instead of in the National Bank, as had been the custom; and when the Secretary of the Treasury refused to carry out this policy, Jackson removed him and appointed a more pliable official in his place. For this action he was formally censured by the Senate, and condemned by his political opponents generally; but the people admired the independence he had shown, and his friends eventually succeeded in getting the Senate to expunge its vote of censure.

Still greater approval did Jackson win by his attitude toward Nullification. The tariff duties, which had been slightly raised under Adams (p. 401), were still further increased by Congress in 1832. This angered the South, which now began to take an extreme position in favor of State rights, and against the supremacy of the national Government. Its statesmen appealed to the Constitution to support their views, and presented their case with cogency and skill. Robert Hayne of South Carolina became one of their foremost spokesmen, and in the United States Senate he argued with great power that, by the very terms of the Constitution, the States kept their sovereignty and could refuse to obey any act of Congress which they considered oppressive. But Daniel Webster of Massachusetts showed conclusively that this interpretation of the Constitution would forever prevent the United States from becoming a nation.

The South was silenced for the time being, but it was not convinced. South Carolina in particular was rebellious about the tariff laws, and threatened to resist their execution. She even went so far as to pass an ordinance declaring them null. Hence the term "nullification." But she gave way when she found that Jackson would use the entire military strength of the country to compel her to obedience. Moreover, the dis-

satisfaction of the Southern States was largely removed by the modification of the tariff laws. Congress saw with regret the seditious tendencies manifested in South Carolina. So, in 1833, it passed the "Compromise Tariff," by which the duties were lessened each year until 1842. After the passage of this measure the tariff question did not again become a prominent political issue until after the Civil War.

By his strong stand for the Union Jackson undoubtedly helped his party. The National Republicans, who now took the name of Whigs, did not even make nominations for the national elections in 1836. Hence, the Democratic candidates, Martin Van Buren of New York and Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, won an easy victory, though General Harrison, Daniel Webster, Hugh L. White, and W. P. Magnum each received votes in the Electoral College. Van Buren was Secretary of State in Jackson's first administration and Vice-President during his second term. Before that he had been United States Senator and Governor of New York. He was an able and thoroughly upright man, but his reëlection was made impossible, for his administration came at an unfortunate period and suffered from disastrous occurrences for which he was not responsible. At the time when he succeeded to office the nation had been gaining rapidly in wealth. Revenue exceeded expenditure, and the treasury had accumulated a surplus of forty million dollars. This sum was, by act of Congress, distributed among the States. As a result, money became plentiful; banks were multiplied; speculation was widespread. The new banks flooded the country with worthless paper money, which for a time was universally received. But even in Jackson's time the currency had become so inflated that Jackson issued a circular forbidding the United States land offices to accept anything but specie in payment for government land. This action was wise and patriotic, and it protected the Government; but it helped to bring on a financial crisis. In Van Buren's administration much of the paper money of the country was found to be irredeemable, and specie disappeared from circulation. The result was a commercial panic, which caused stringency in the money market and numerous failures.

The country gradually recovered from its financial embar-

rassments; but, to prevent them from recurring, Congress, at the President's suggestion, adopted the subtreasury system. Heretofore the government moneys had been deposited in the National Bank or in the State banks. By the new system they were placed, as fast as they were collected, in the national treasury or in subtreasuries established in the leading cities of the country. Thus the vast funds of the Government could no longer be used to promote business enterprise and commercial activity; yet the change was undoubtedly for the country's good. For the old system, though it had performed a use, was a dangerous one. It led to abuses while it lasted; it would have resulted in still graver ones as the government income grew and the task of dividing it fairly among the banks became increasingly difficult. Nor does private capital now need any increase from government funds. For the wealth of the country is so great that the rates of interest have become low, and profitable investments are not always easily found.

Van Buren was renominated by his party in 1840; but General Harrison, the Whig candidate, was widely popular on account of his brilliant military career, and swept the country.

CHAPTER V

THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF HARRISON AND TYLER, POLK, AND TAYLOR AND FILLMORE

President Harrison had shown some administrative ability as Governor of Indian Territory. Whether he would have proved an efficient executive of the nation cannot be determined, for he died only a month after his inauguration. John Tyler, the Vice-President, succeeded him, and proved a disappointment to the Whig party. He had been accounted a Whig, because he was opposed to nullification. But he did not approve of a national bank; and when the Whigs, who had a majority in Congress, voted to recharter the Bank, Tyler vetoed the measure. The Whigs were not able to pass it over the veto and fiercely accused the President of disloyalty to his party.

In the course of Tyler's administration the Independent Treasury Bill was repealed; a bankrupt law was passed; the northeast boundary of the United States was settled on its present basis by Mr. Webster, who as Secretary of State very ably represented the country's interests; and the Mormons, after vain efforts to establish themselves in Missouri and Illinois, settled near the Great Salt Lake and founded the Territory of Utah.

But the absorbing question before the country was the annexation of Texas. It was not a new question in Tyler's administration. Texas won her independence from Mexico in 1836 and at once applied for admission to the Union. But Van Buren, who feared a war with Mexico, opposed the proposition, and it was for the time being abandoned. In the last year of Tyler's administration, however, the question came up again. The Democrats were strongly in favor of annexation, and the Whigs opposed it. The whole country was excited

over the situation, and annexation became the vital question in the presidential campaign of 1844.

If Texas were admitted, she would be admitted as a slave State, and thus slavery was once more serving to divide the North and the South. Arkansas had been admitted as a slave State in 1836, and Michigan as a free State in 1837. The States were now half slave and half free; but the latter were gaining rapidly on the former in population. Therefore, unless new slave States should be added to the Union, the Southern members of Congress would be in a hopeless minority. But Northern Congressmen were determined that they should be in a minority, as they viewed the slave power with increasing dread. They were therefore bitterly opposed to the acquisition of any new territory which would allow slavery to grow and expand. As men of this political type were for the most part Whigs, the Whig party became largely identified with their views. All the voters in the North who were opposed to the spread of slavery identified themselves with the Whig party; while the men of the South were almost uniformly Democrats. But the North was not united, while the South was. So the Democrats gained a victory in 1844 by carrying the State of New York, and elected their candidates, James Polk of Tennessee and George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania. The Whig candidate was Henry Clay, and his defeat was a bitter disappointment to him. He was now becoming an old man, and he could hardly hope for another presidential nomination.

The new President did not prove a strong or able head of the nation. He simply carried out the wishes of his party, as he had been expected to do. A consistent Democrat, a man of dignified and estimable character, he lacked vigorous self-assertion, and at no time did he think of opposing the slave power.

So the scheme of annexation was easily carried through under Polk's administration. Congress did not even wait for his inauguration before attacking the question. On March 1, 1845, it was voted to admit Texas into the Union. President Tyler immediately approved the measure; the legislature of Texas ratified it in July, 1845; and Texas became one of the United States.

But the war with Mexico which Van Buren had feared soon followed. Mexico could not reasonably resent the adoption of Texas into the Union, seeing that Texas had become an independent State; but the southern boundary of Texas was a matter of dispute. Mexico and Texas both claimed the territory between the rivers Nueces and Rio Grande. The United States adopted the Texan view of the matter and went to war over it, though not without first trying to settle the difficulty by arbitration.

The war with Mexico was not popular in the North, and many Northern statesmen believed it to be utterly unjustifiable. They looked upon it as a war of aggression, needlessly brought upon the country in order to win territory for slavery. But however discreditable it was to the national honor, it was highly creditable to American valor. The United States forces sent into Mexico were ridiculously small, but they proved invincible. They defeated armies that far outnumbered them, and Mexico got nothing but humiliation from the conflict.

Hostilities began in the spring of 1845, though war was not formally declared until a year later. In the summer of 1846 the United States armies entered Mexico. Before the end of September in the following year the country was completely conquered, and meanwhile the power of Mexico had been overthrown in New Mexico and California. So when peace was made in the winter of 1847–48, not only was the Rio Grande established as the southern boundary of Texas, instead of the Nueces, but Mexico was obliged to give up New Mexico and California for the sum of $15,000,000. Debts of $3,000,000 which she owed to American citizens were also to be discharged by the United States.

But hardly had the new tract been acquired, before it became a bone of contention between the North and the South. The North was determined that the Mexico purchase should be free soil; the South was equally determined that it should be slave territory. In 1846 David Wilmot of Pennsylvania had proposed in Congress that money should be appropriated to buy the proposed acquisition from Mexico, only on condition that slavery should be excluded from it. This proposition, called the Wilmot Proviso, failed to pass through Congress; but it formed the political creed of the new Free-Soil party

which came into existence in 1848. The Democrats and Whigs were unwilling to oppose the spread of slavery through fear of offending their Southern supporters. So a new party was formed by those who believed in the Wilmot Proviso, and who were convinced that the slave power was threatening the very existence of the nation.

The Free-Soilers nominated ex-President Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts in the presidential campaign of 1848; and in their platform they declared themselves against allowing slavery in the new territory. The Democrats and the Whigs avoided this issue. While the Free-Soil vote was not large, it turned the scale in New York; and by causing the vote of that State to be given to the Whigs it secured the election of the Whig candidates, Taylor and Fillmore. They received 163 votes in the Electoral College, against 127 that were given for Cass and Butler, the candidates of the Democratic party.

Zachary Taylor was born in Virginia in 1784. He served in the War of 1812, and also in the Black Hawk and Seminole wars; and in the war with Mexico he played a conspicuous part and won the admiration of the whole country. When he was first mentioned as a presidential candidate, he declared that he had no taste for politics and forbade the use of his name. But after a time he found himself thoroughly possessed by presidential ambition. The office which he once thought unattractive he now coveted; and he gladly accepted the nomination of the Whigs in 1848. Indeed, he even claimed it as a right. But his death, only about a year after he was inaugurated, prevented him from showing conspicuously whether he had the abilities of a statesman.

Millard Fillmore, who as Vice-President succeeded him, was a native of New York and was born in 1800. Made President by accident, he showed no vigorous qualities of mind or character during his term of office.

President Taylor's career was cut short at a very critical time. The national affairs were in confusion because Congress could not decide whether or not to allow slavery in the Territories. California was rapidly becoming populated, owing to the discovery of gold in its soil in 1849. But its people, largely composed of ruffians and adventurers, and greatly need-

ing a government to restrain lawlessness, could get little help from the United States. For no stable government could be established till it was known whether the Territory was to be slave or free. Moreover, the feeling between the North and the South was continually becoming more heated. The South was offended by the denunciations of the Abolitionists against slavery and by the difficulty the slave-owners experienced in getting back runaways from the Northern States; while the North objected to the sale of slaves in the District of Columbia, resented the aggressive and irritating tone of Southern statesmen, and pronounced their demands extravagant and dangerous to the permanence of the Union. Texas added to the confusion by claiming a part of New Mexico and threatening to take it by armed force.

Once more the difficulties created by slavery were settled by compromise; and once more Henry Clay was the means of bringing about an agreement. He had arranged the Missouri Compromise in 1820 and the Compromise Tariff in 1833; and it was a committee of which he was chairman that framed the Omnibus Bill of 1850. By this compromise measure the troubles between North and South were for a time quieted, though the chief causes for irritation remained untouched. The Omnibus Bill embraced five distinct acts: —

I. That California should be admitted as a free State.

II. That Texas should receive $10,000,000 and in consideration of that sum should give up her claims to a portion of New Mexico.

III. That the rest of the Mexican purchase, with the exception of California, should be divided into the Territories of Utah and New Mexico, and that the question whether they should be slave or free should be left unsettled.

IV. That slaves should still be held in the District of Columbia, but not bought or sold.

V. That the Northern States should be required to surrender all fugitive slaves that took refuge in them.

These compromise measures were carried through Congress largely through the support of Daniel Webster. His speech in favor of them, delivered on March 7, 1850, created a powerful conciliatory influence. Mr. Webster believed that it was needless to exclude slavery from the Territories by law, for

their barren soil offered no remuneration to slave labor. He held that the North was bound by the Constitution to deliver up fugitive slaves, and that it ought not to evade its responsibility. The agitation created by the Abolitionists he pronounced mischievous, and he deprecated all acrimonious controversy between the North and the South. Thus powerfully supported, the Omnibus Bill proved too strong to be defeated. Its five acts were separately considered and passed by Congress, and the difficulties that had been disturbing the nation were temporarily adjusted. But the cause of the disturbance had not been removed. The excited feelings of the North and the South were not quieted by compromise. Loudly and fiercely did the people of the free States denounce the Fugitive Slave Law, which indeed many pronounced iniquitous and refused to obey. And equally angry and bitter were the criticisms of the South upon the conduct of the Abolitionists. To all who understood the political situation it was apparent that Mr. Webster's arguments were specious and did not touch the real points at issue. The North and the South were trying to perpetuate two antagonistic types of civilization under the same Constitution; but such an experiment in government was bound to fail. It only invited dissension. Compromise could postpone the day of conflict, but the day of conflict was sure to come. This Mr. Webster failed to recognize in his famous seventh of March speech. Ignoring the deepest and gravest moral issues of the controversy, he did not rise to the plane of the highest statesmanship. Ambition blinded his moral vision. But even while he was advocating an impossible conciliation, a greater mind than his was clearly discerning the signs of the times. Abraham Lincoln of Illinois had already begun to see that a house divided against itself could not stand, and that the country must become all slave or all free.[1]

President Taylor died on July 9, 1850. Calhoun, the ardent champion of State Rights, passed away in the March preceding; and Webster and Clay in 1852. But the death of these eminent men did not apparently affect the course of public events. They had played great and brilliant parts in the nation's history, but individuals were beginning to count as

[1] It was in his debates with Douglas in 1858 that Lincoln clearly and emphatically enunciated this idea.

little in those stirring and tremendous times. The country was drifting toward civil war, and no one could stay its course. Yet able men appeared to fill the places of the departed leaders. Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and Stephen Douglas of Illinois became conspicuous in the debates of Congress; while the South found sturdy leaders in Alexander Stephens of Georgia and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi.

In 1852, as in 1848, there were three presidential candidates. The Democrats nominated Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, and William R. King of Alabama, for President and Vice-President. The Whigs nominated General Winfield Scott, and William A. Graham of North Carolina. The Free-Soilers again put candidates in the field, nominating John P. Hale of New Hampshire and George W. Julian of Indiana; but these candidates received very few votes in the election, and, like the Free-Soil nominees in 1848, they had no votes whatever in the Electoral College. The contest, therefore, was really between the Whigs and the Democrats; but the Whig party was very much weakened by the disaffection of its members. For many Southern Whigs now joined the Democrats, because of the growing importance of the slavery question; and many Northern Whigs refused to support their party, because it had indorsed the Fugitive Slave Law. Under these conditions, the Democrats naturally had things very much their own way, their candidates receiving 254 electoral votes against 42 that were cast for Scott and Graham.

CHAPTER VI

THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF PIERCE AND BUCHANAN

The new President was not the man to lead the country when a crisis was approaching. A fascinating personality was his most notable characteristic, and to it he was largely indebted for his successful career. Though a Northern man, he defended slavery; and in his inaugural address he made it plain that the South would receive more support than the North from his administration. Thus the slave power gathered strength; the division between North and South grew wider; the final appeal to arms became more difficult to avoid.

Other matters besides those connected with the slave question did, it is true, assume prominence at this period. Of these the most important was that of naturalization. The United States claimed that foreigners who became her citizens by process of naturalization were no longer subject to the laws of the country of their birth. This claim European nations were slow to admit; it was not until 1853 that the question was decided. In that year the Austrians attempted to carry off an American named Martin Kostza, who was a native of Austria and who had been engaged in an insurrection against the Austrian Government. He was seized in Asia Minor and put on board an Austrian frigate. But the commander of an American man-of-war threatened to fire upon the Austrian vessel unless Kostza were given up. Kostza was accordingly surrendered, and the United States Government, instead of heeding Austria's protest, justified its officer and rewarded him with a medal.

In the following year the United States gained further respect among the nations of the world by establishing diplomatic and commercial relations with Japan. This country had looked with true Oriental disdain upon other nations

and had held aloof from all intercourse with them. But Commodore M. C. Perry, a brother of the Captain Perry who distinguished himself at the battle of Lake Erie, succeeded in overcoming this aversion to foreigners. He was sent to Japan with a naval squadron; and by his resolution, tact, and diplomatic skill, he persuaded the Japanese to form a treaty with the United States. Thus the Republic was steadily gaining in power. Her population had been growing rapidly all through the century, and had now reached a total of twenty-five millions. Railways were being extended in every direction. The great streams of the country were being bridged. Factories were becoming numerous under the protective system. The volume of business was constantly increasing. The Crystal Palace Exhibition at New York City, in 1853, gave many evidences of the country's astonishing growth.

But outward prosperity could not conceal the nation's trouble. During President Pierce's administration slavery caused more disturbance and angry feeling than ever. In 1854 Stephen Douglas of Illinois proposed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which violated the Missouri Compromise of 1820. But it was claimed that the Omnibus Bill set aside all earlier agreements, and that the settlers of Nebraska and Kansas should be allowed to decide whether they would have slavery or not. And this view prevailed in Congress. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill was passed; new seeds of dissension between North and South were sown.

Nor were these seeds long in bearing fruit. Nebraska was too far to the North to attract Southern settlers; but Kansas immediately became a bloody battle-ground. On the vast stretches of this fertile Territory the North and South fought their preliminary skirmish, and the North won its earliest victory. Northern immigrants hastened into Kansas, rifle in hand. Blocked by the people of western Missouri, they found a passage through Iowa, and forced their way through all obstacles. They carried their families with them. They went to establish homes and free institutions, for which they were ready to fight and die. Equally active was the South in occupying the coveted Territory. But the Southern planters did not like to carry their slaves into Kansas through fear of ultimately losing them. So the Southern immigrants were largely young men who did not take families with them, and whose object was to hold the

ground for the slave power against Northern invasion. But this they were not able to do. The Northern settlers outnumbered them, and, after many sharp struggles, established a government forbidding slavery and demanded admittance into the Union. Their petition, however, was rejected by the Senate, in which the Democrats were in a majority; and not till 1861 was Kansas added to the list of States.

The struggle for Kansas intensified the feeling between North and South and made President Pierce's administration a stormy and eventful period. So determined and aggressive did the Northern opponents of slavery become, that they formed themselves into a new party. At first they were called "Anti-Nebraska men," as opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was the cardinal point in their political creed; later they took the name of Republicans. They absorbed the Free-Soil party, drew the anti-slavery Whigs and Democrats into their ranks, and almost from the beginning appeared formidable. In 1854 they elected a majority of the House of Representatives; and their leaders in Congress showed conspicuous ability. Sumner and Seward in the Senate, and Burlingame and Giddings in the House voiced the Northern anti-slavery sentiment in no uncertain tones.

The excitement that prevailed throughout the country was reflected in Congress itself. The members of that body engaged in acrimonious debate, carried knives and pistols, and challenged each other not unfrequently. Sometimes scenes of violence occurred in the very halls of Congress, and in 1856 an assault was made upon Charles Sumner in the Senate chamber which caused great excitement throughout the country. In a heated debate Mr. Sumner spoke in offensive terms of Senator Butler of South Carolina. Preston S. Brooks, a nephew of Senator Butler, was a representative from the same state, and he considered that his uncle's honor needed to be vindicated. So, entering the floor of the Senate with a cane, he showered repeated blows upon Mr. Sumner's head, and injured him so severely that his health was not restored for several years. Yet, dastardly as was the outrage, it was not seriously rebuked by Southern statesmen, so fierce was their resentment toward all the opponents of slavery.

In the national election of 1856 the Democrats were again

successful. Of the 296 votes cast in the Electoral College their candidates, James Buchanan and John C. Breckenridge, received 174. But they were by no means satisfied with their triumph. The Republican party developed surprising strength, and carried a majority of the Northern States. Its candidates, John C. Frémont and William L. Dayton, received 114 electoral votes, 8 being given to the American or Know-Nothing candidates, ex-President Fillmore and Andrew J. Donelson. So the South grew more and more uneasy regarding its favorite institution. It feared that slavery could not live, if the Republican party, pledged to oppose its extension, should carry a presidential election. And that contingency did not seem very far away.

James Buchanan was born in Pennsylvania in 1791. A lawyer by profession, he showed marked ability very early in his career, and before his presidential election he filled various political and diplomatic offices. He approved of President Jackson's position against the Nullification movement in 1832; but he never resisted the claims of slavery, and, like Pierce, he gave the support of his administration to the South rather than the North. So throughout his presidency sectional feeling grew more intense and dangerous.

Yet President Buchanan's administration was a period of prosperity and growth in spite of the threatening political conditions. Three new States were admitted to the Union, Minnesota, Oregon, and Kansas. The population continued to increase, and by 1860 it had reached the figure of thirty-one millions. Ingenious inventions were multiplying the power of labor and bringing wealth and comfort to the people. The mineral riches of the country were showing themselves inexhaustible. Silver as well as gold was now found to be abundant. Petroleum was discovered in Pennsylvania in 1859, and the deposits of coal were found to be far more extensive than was at first supposed.

Thus the nation was rapidly becoming one of the greatest and wealthiest in the world. All the more did it need to become an undivided nation, that there might be no hindrance to the growth of its power and prosperity. The slave question sternly demanded settlement. So long as the nation was half slave and half free there was sure to be unceasing political warfare between

North and South. The whole country was disquieted. Industry and enterprise did not have free play. The South in particular failed to develop its great mineral resources, because, under the deadening influences of slavery, it gave all its energies to raising cotton.

But the march of events was rapid during the four years of Buchanan's administration. The excitement over slavery continued and was fed by new and portentous happenings. In 1857 the famous Dred Scott Decision was given by the Supreme Court of the United States and caused much indignant protest among the people of the North. For in the North it had been believed that, according to the Constitution, slaves were persons held to labor, and were property only by State law. But it appeared that this view was a mistaken one. For Dred Scott, a Missouri slave, was carried by his master into the territory that had been declared free by the Missouri Compromise of 1820; and he accordingly brought a suit to gain his freedom. But the Supreme Court, to which body the case was appealed, refused to declare him free. As a slave, he could be carried where his master willed, like cattle or any other property. Thus the bars were everywhere broken down. As the law had been interpreted, there was nothing to prevent the people of the South from settling with their slaves in the very hotbeds of the Abolitionist movement. Naturally the North was alarmed. It did not fear that the free Northern States would actually be invaded by slavery; but it did look with concern upon the growing strength of the slave power which the Dred Scott decision fostered instead of discouraging.

The excitement over the Dred Scott decision had hardly died away when sectional feeling was inflamed anew by an event of startling character. On the night of October 10, 1859, John Brown, an Abolitionist who had won notoriety in Kansas, seized the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry with a band of armed associates. His plan was to use the arms thus acquired for equipping the slaves and inciting them to insurrection. But the scheme was a foolhardy one and resulted in utter failure. The slaves did not rise. Brown and his followers were easily overpowered by the troops sent against them; and on December 2, Brown himself and all of his party who had not been killed in the fray were hanged by

the State of Virginia. But the excitement of the South was not quieted by this vindication of the law. Though John Brown's raid was easily checked, it touched the people of the South in their most sensitive spot, the fear of a negro insurrection. So the Southern hatred of the Abolitionists grew more bitter than ever; for the slave-owners were naturally indignant that the very movement they had always feared should have been originated by their own countrymen. Nor was the feeling of the Abolitionists any less vehement and bitter. They justified John Brown, pronounced him a martyr, and prophesied that his death would hasten the doom of slavery.

Sectional feeling being thus excited, the slave question inevitably became the vital one in the election of 1860. The Southern Democrats framed their platform and made their nominations with a view to defending slavery against the attacks of the North. They declared that it was the duty of Congress to protect slavery in the Territories in accordance with the Dred Scott decision. Their candidates were John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky, who was at this time Vice-President, and Joseph Lane of Oregon. The Northern Democrats could not indorse such a platform without becoming actual champions of slavery; so they made their own independent nominations, their candidates being Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois and Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia. Unwilling to avoid the question of slavery altogether, they would not express themselves decidedly for or against it. Their platform embodied the ideas of Douglas, who held that each Territory should be slave or free according to the wishes of its inhabitants. This theory was sometimes known as squatter sovereignty. But there were many conservative, peace-loving people in the North who believed that the slave question caused disturbance because it was so much talked about, and that if it was ignored it would ultimately settle itself. They accordingly refused to act with either the Northern or the Southern Democrats, and nominated John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts on a platform which simply declared for the Constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the laws. And lastly there were the nominees of the Republican party, Abraham Lincoln of Illinois and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine,

who were pledged to oppose slavery in the Territories. Thus the Republicans committed themselves against slavery, and their party was the party of the anti-slavery leaders. Yet the Republicans were by no means to be classed with the Abolitionists. They were opposed to the extension of slavery; they had no thought of making war upon the institution itself. Their cardinal belief was that the Union should be preserved. Slavery they opposed because it threatened the permanence of the Union, not because they condemned it on moral grounds.

Intense interest was taken in the election. A victory for the Northern Democrats or for the American party would have meant the continuance of attempts at compromise and of bitter feeling between the North and the South. A victory of the Southern Democrats would have filled Northern statesmen with alarm and would have caused them wellnigh to despair of saving the Union. That the election of the Republican candidates would actually bring about the disruption of the Union was hardly supposed in the North; but it was eagerly hoped for by all the opponents of slavery, as they saw in it the only means of checking the growth of the slave power.

The Republicans triumphed and disruption came. Lincoln and Hamlin received 180 votes in the Electoral College; Breckenridge and Lane 72; Bell and Everett 39; and Douglas and Johnson 12. Almost as soon as the result was known, South Carolina summoned a state convention and severed her connection with the Union. Six other States soon followed her example. Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana seceded in January, 1861; and Texas in February of the same year. Thus the secession movement had become formidable. Its leaders were confident, and they proceeded to establish a government of their own. The State conventions which had passed the acts of secession took upon themselves the authority of sending delegates to Montgomery, Alabama, to form a confederation of the seceded States. Early in February the delegates met, framed a Constitution for the "Confederate States," adopted a flag which became known as the "Stars and Bars," and chose Jefferson Davis and Alexander Stephens as President and Vice-President. The latter, who was a native of Georgia, opposed secession vigorously until 1860; but, like many South-

erners, he deemed allegiance to his own State stronger than that which he owed to the Union.

The States that had seceded were the sea-coast States. Between them and the free North lay seven slave States, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Arkansas, whose attitude was for some time doubtful. The people of these border States did not wish to secede, but many of them were unwilling to see the States that had seceded brought back into the Union by force. It was quite certain, therefore, that the seven Confederate States would find their numbers increased unless they could be persuaded to cancel their ordinances of secession and submit to the United States Government.

But nothing was done to bring about this result. President Buchanan ignored the whole matter of secession to the end of his term. In Congress there was much loose talk about compromise, but nothing was accomplished. Meanwhile, the whole South was busy with preparations for war. For years, indeed, the Southern leaders had been looking for such a crisis as had arisen, and now that it had come they were ready to meet it. So prompt and vigorous were their measures in the seceded States that within their area the authority of the United States Government was soon completely destroyed. The soldiers of the United States were disarmed and sent away. Forts were erected. Munitions of war were accumulated, and troops were equipped and drilled. If a struggle was to come, the South had reason to begin it with confidence. But the national Government remained utterly inactive. President Buchanan would not sanction any measure that looked toward suppressing the secession movement.[1]

[1] Buchanan's conduct during this critical period is vigorously defended in King's "Turning on the Light" (see especially pp. 129 *et seq.*). For the other side consult Rhodes's "History of the United States," III. 217–228.

CHAPTER VII

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION. — THE CIVIL WAR

The first decided measure of the new administration was to send supplies to Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor. For some time the leaders of secession in South Carolina had been preparing to capture this fortress. They had built forts and batteries about it which Major Anderson, in command of Fort Sumter, was forbidden by the United States Government to fire upon, but which drove away a vessel sent to Major Anderson's relief. Hence the garrison of Fort Sumter could get no supplies of food, and at the beginning of Lincoln's administration it was being rapidly reduced to extremities. But when the secession leaders found that Lincoln had despatched a fleet to succor the fortress, they opened fire upon the fort, and soon forced it to surrender. Thus civil war was begun. The secession movement had developed into armed rebellion.

There was now but one course open to President Lincoln. Having sworn to maintain the Constitution, he must suppress the rebellion at any cost. Civil war had become inevitable, but it was to be waged simply for the preservation of the Union. Mr. Lincoln resolutely refused to free the slaves at the beginning of the war, and thereby greatly disappointed the Abolitionists, who considered the destruction of slavery the chief end of the conflict. He ordered a blockade of the Southern ports and called for seventy-five thousand volunteers to suppress the rebellion. But these measures brought matters to a crisis in the border States. Four of them, Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia, cast their fortunes with the South. Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri were saved for the Union, partly by the efforts of the Union men in them, partly by the action of the United States Government. In West Virginia the population was so loyal to the Union that this portion of

Virginia was made by Congress into a separate State. There were now, therefore, eleven States in the Southern Confederacy, while those that remained in the Union numbered twenty-two. The former had a population of about eight millions; while that of the States which had not seceded was nearly three times as great. Moreover, the North had a great advantage over the South in its wealth and in the variety of its industries. It had long been engaged in manufactures, and through these and through the richness of its agricultural regions its resources were practically inexhaustible; while the South, producing little but cotton and unable to send that abroad on account of the blockade of its ports, became gradually impoverished.

None the less the South made a long and gallant resistance against superior force, and there were times when the national cause looked dark and discouraging. It soon became evident that the South could not be subdued unless slavery were destroyed, and Mr. Lincoln issued an emancipation proclamation on January 1, 1863, in which the slaves were declared to be their own masters. But even after this decided step was taken, the Union armies suffered many reverses; and it was not until April 26, 1865, that the resistance of the South was completely overcome. Unhappily, Mr. Lincoln did not live to see this final triumph which his own wisdom and lofty courage had so largely brought about. Reëlected in 1864, he had entered upon his second term of office under bright auspices, and had shared the rejoicing of the North over Lee's surrender, which occurred on April 9, only about a month after his famous Second Inaugural Address was delivered. But on April 14 he was shot by an assassin at Ford's Theatre in Washington, and died after lingering a few hours in unconsciousness. Profound gloom fell upon the nation when this calamity was known; for, though doubted and distrusted when the war began, President Lincoln had gradually won the enthusiastic regard of his countrymen. His great patience, his homely wisdom, his kindness of heart, and his unswerving justice had made a profound impression upon the people. His quaint sayings were everywhere repeated; his name was everywhere mentioned with deep and reverent affection. But his character was not merely one to be admired; it was a distinctive product of American life and American institutions. The breadth, the freedom, the humanity and the

moral dignity of the new democracy had moulded this remarkable man and made him one of the most perfect products of modern civilization. In his nature gentleness and strength were so admirably blended as to render him an ideal leader for a free people. He asked no blind allegiance. He believed in the people, and he was always ready to wait till they could follow him. The result was that they gave him their hearts and their devotion in a manner hardly paralleled in history.

The rebellion was crushed, but this vast result had not been accomplished without heavy cost. Hundreds of thousands of lives had been sacrificed and billions of dollars had been expended to secure the harmony of the Union. Moreover, in order to meet extraordinary expenditures, the national Congress had resorted to unwise financial legislation, which could not readily be undone and which has not yet ceased to plague the country. In 1857 the tariff had been put upon a scientific basis by a most excellent bill;[1] but, for purposes of revenue rather than of protection, this admirable adjustment of the tariff question was set aside, and a high scale of duties was adopted in the early years of the war. And, once adopted, it was permanently retained, contrary to all expectations, for the manufacturers, having tasted the benefits of extreme protection, were loath to give them up. Hence the Republican party became committed to a high tariff policy, and the principle of government paternalism was immensely strengthened and encouraged. And even more far-reaching in its political effects was the legislation now passed in regard to the currency. Up to this time Congress had controlled the coinage, as authorized by the Constitution, without exciting serious political comment. In 1792 it enacted that the coinage ratio between gold and silver should be 15 to 1; and it provided that eagles, half eagles, and quarter eagles should be coined from gold, and dollars, half dollars, quarter dollars, dimes, and half dimes should be coined from silver. But as this ratio caused the gold to be driven out by the silver, in accordance with Gresham's Law, the ratio was made 16 to 1 in 1834, and now it was the silver that was driven out. Indeed, a law was passed in 1853 to increase slightly the amount of silver used in the fractional coins, for it was found difficult to keep them

[1] Taussig's "Tariff History of the United States."

in circulation.[1] But thus far Congress had avoided issuing paper money, and in regulating the coinage it had obeyed the requirements of sound finance, and not the dictates of party. But, pressed by the exigencies of the Civil War, Congress unfortunately decided to make the Government's credit serve in the place of money, and authorized the issue of notes with a face value of $500,000,000. These notes were mere promises to pay on demand, but they were legal tender and were redeemable in coin. The result was that they soon drove both gold and silver out of circulation, and brought gold to so high a premium that a single dollar of that metal was worth more than two dollars in paper money. Thus the nation began to experience the necessary consequences of issuing fiat money. It was burdened with a depreciated currency; but, far worse than that, it had created in the minds of the people a craving for a debased circulating medium. For from that time to the present day the poorer classes have not ceased to think that the Government could relieve their poverty by making dollars enough for all. Thus it becomes apparent that the Civil War exerted a profound and immeasurable influence upon the nation's political development. For even while it was accomplishing its momentous task of abolishing slavery and making the Union whole, it was leading Congress into actions which became the ultimate source of ever increasing dissensions and party warfares.

But in that it did make the Union whole, the war was worth all that it cost. Ever since 1789 it had been an unsolved question whether the States could withdraw from the compact they had voluntarily made. But that question was now settled, and the permanency of the Union was secured. The principle of federation had won a glorious triumph. It had proved capable of making a strong and enduring nation. The Republic now stood before the world united, free, and great.

[1] For a discussion of these various coinage measures consult Laughlin's "History of Bimetallism in the United States," or Bolle's "Financial History of the United States from 1789 to 1860," Book III. Ch. XI.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF JOHNSON AND GRANT. — RECONSTRUCTION

The assassination of President Lincoln was part of a plot to kill all the highest officials in Washington, and leave the country without a government. Fortunately, the infamous scheme was frustrated. Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, was at once sworn into the presidential office, and the Government did not suffer even a temporary collapse.

But the course of affairs was troublous during the administration of President Johnson. He was a Southern man, who had settled in Tennessee at an early age and had there obtained political preferment. Becoming President through Lincoln's death, he showed himself eager to punish the leaders of the Rebellion; but it soon became apparent that his condemnation of treason was due rather to class hatred than to exalted patriotism. He was a self-willed and passionate man, without breadth and magnanimity; and, being a poor white himself, he disliked the Southern leaders because they were his social superiors. Accordingly, he was anxious to see them brought to justice, while he had no feeling against the rank and file of the secession movement. But the nation did not indorse these sentiments. There was a feeling throughout the North that quite enough blood had been shed during the war, and that the nation's victory should not be sullied by unnecessary and vindictive executions. Jefferson Davis was indeed arrested, and for two years was imprisoned in Fortress Monroe; but he was set free in 1868, and no other leaders of the rebellion were even molested.

Thus Johnson put himself out of sympathy with Northern feeling; and, as time passed, he and the Republican majority in Congress became thoroughly antagonistic. The great prob-

lem of Reconstruction was before the country. The States that had seceded were to be governed and were to receive back their full political rights as soon as possible. But in accomplishing these ends, the President and Congress disagreed. The President's plan was that the whites in each Southern State should elect delegates to a convention, and that the convention should repeal the ordinance of secession passed just before the war, agree not to pay any debt incurred by supporting the Confederacy, and ratify the Thirteenth Amendment, which declared slavery abolished, and which Congress had voted to bring before the country. This plan was actually carried out. The seceded States conformed to these requirements of President Johnson, organized governments, and elected members of Congress who would, they supposed, be admitted to the national Senate and House of Representatives.

But Congress declined to admit them. In both of its branches the Republicans were in a two thirds majority and they could act in entire disregard of the President's wishes; for they could pass any measure they pleased over his veto. And this power they proceeded to exercise. They did not at all approve of President Johnson's reconstruction scheme. It was too liberal for them, so they framed one to suit themselves. They were determined that the leaders of the Confederacy should not vote and that the negroes should. For, now that slavery was abolished, the Republicans held that the negro was a citizen and was entitled to the rights of one. Accordingly, Congress passed its own reconstruction acts over the veto of the President in March, 1867. By these acts Southern Senators and Representatives were to be admitted to Congress only if negroes were allowed to vote, and the Fourteenth Amendment, which deprived the Confederate leaders of the right to vote and to hold office, was ratified. Moreover, military governors were to be appointed by the President in all the seceded States, and United States troops were to be kept in the South to sustain their authority.

These conditions were hard. Toward the end of the war, President Lincoln had attempted to bring several States back into the Union, and had wished to restore to them at the outset their full political rights and privileges. His plan of

reconstruction was not indeed materially different from that of President Johnson. But even he had come into collision with Congress in carrying out this scheme.[1] The Republicans in Congress were suspicious of the men who had just been in arms against the Union. They feared that the rights of the newly enfranchised negro would not be respected; and they considered it more important to secure these rights than they did to conciliate the South and destroy that bitter sectional feeling which slavery had engendered and the war had by no means destroyed. Hence they adopted a policy which resulted in years of disturbance and of bitter recrimination between North and South.

But there was nothing for these Southern States to do but accept the conditions imposed by the Republican Congress. So all but four of them ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, submitted to military rule, and saw the negroes vote and hold office, while their own leaders were obliged to keep out of the political arena until they were pardoned by Congress. But they did not quietly acquiesce in bayonet rule. They formed organizations which terrorized the negroes and did wild and bloody work among them for many years. Of these organizations the most notorious was the Ku-Klux-Klan.

President Johnson was not behind the Confederate leaders in his dislike of the reconstruction acts of Congress. He carried out their provisions, but he did so under protest; and his feeling of resentment toward Congress grew increasingly bitter. Again and again he vetoed its reconstruction bills, but invariably they were passed over his veto. Finally, in March, 1867, Congress passed the Tenure of Office Act, which Johnson held to be unconstitutional. Therefore, after vetoing it in vain, he determined to disobey it. It required the President to obtain the consent of the Senate before removing officials of the highest class. Hence, by removing Stanton, the Secretary of War, Johnson brought on an open struggle between himself and Congress. For the Senate refused to sanction the removal, and, when Johnson persisted in forcing Stanton out of office, he was impeached by the House of Representatives.

[1] An interesting account of this episode may be found in Blaine's "Twenty Years of Congress," II. 34–50.

Intense interest was awakened throughout the country by this action of Congress. No President had ever been impeached before; and the trial of the chief magistrate of a great nation was a spectacle of the most solemn character. In Europe it was wondered whether our national institutions could stand such a strain. Yet, great as was the public excitement over the trial, it was from beginning to end a most quiet and orderly proceeding. In accordance with provisions of the Constitution, the charges against President Johnson were made by the House and judged by the Senate. The most able and eloquent members of the House of Representatives presented the case against the President, while he was defended by some of the most skilful lawyers in the country. When the vote was finally taken, thirty-five Senators were in favor of conviction and nineteen in favor of acquittal. The President was therefore vindicated, a two thirds vote being necessary to prove him guilty. The result was a great disappointment to the majority of the Republicans, as they firmly believed that the President had violated the Constitution. But the soberest and sanest minds in the nation approved of the verdict. In opposing Congress President Johnson had acted strictly within his legal rights. Even in removing Secretary Stanton he had only forced a decision on the constitutionality of the Tenure of Office Act. After his refusal to obey this law, it was left for the Supreme Court to decide whether or not the act was legal. Had it been declared legal, Johnson would doubtless have obeyed it. But during his administration the Republican majority in Congress grew extremely arrogant through the exercise of power, and was unwilling to brook opposition. Finding it could override the President's vetoes, it concluded it could dictate to him on its own terms. The result of the impeachment trial convinced it that the President had some rights of his own. And eventually the country learned to believe that the verdict of acquittal was not merely just, but was greatly needed to hold the legislative branch of the Government in check and keep it from infringing upon the privileges of the executive.

Although the problem of reconstruction had absorbed the country during Johnson's administration, it was by no means the only important matter that came up during that period. The French troops were withdrawn from Mexico at the urgent

request of the United States, and Maximilian was left to his unhappy fate. A submarine telegraph was successfully carried from Ireland to Newfoundland in 1866. The territory of the United States was increased by the purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867, the price paid being $7,200,000. Nebraska was admitted to the Union in the same year. The national debt of nearly $3,000,000,000 was diminished and commercial prosperity greatly promoted, though gold still remained at a premium. For not yet had the inflation of the currency during the war ceased to disturb values. Nor did the greenbacks cease to cause financial trouble, even after specie payments were resumed; for they gave their holders the right to draw gold out of the treasury, and thus forced the Government to keep on hand a quantity of gold large enough to meet all demands. In other words, the Government had assumed the functions of a bank, and would be in danger of bankruptcy if at any time the gold reserve in the treasury should show signs of becoming exhausted. And that this danger was not an imaginary one the country was soon to learn by painful experience.

Reconstruction was the important issue in the presidential election of 1868. The Republicans were determined to uphold the policy adopted by Congress, and to that end they nominated General Grant and Schuyler Colfax of Indiana. As the North was still overwhelmingly Republican, and as the military rule in the South made it possible for the negroes to vote, the Republicans gained an easy victory. The Democrats nominated Horatio Seymour of New York and Frank P. Blair of Missouri; but in the Electoral College these candidates received only 80 votes out of a total of 294.

Accordingly the work of reconstruction was continued. In 1870 Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia were readmitted to the Union, and the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified by three fourths of the States and became a part of the Constitution. It declared that no person should be prevented from voting because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and thus protected the negro in the exercise of his political rights. But the whites were biding their time. They knew that bayonet rule could not be maintained in the South for many years, for public sentiment would not long justify this survival of the war. Meanwhile they cowed and intimidated the negroes, and

when they were accused of violence and brutality, they charged the reconstruction governments with fraud and corruption. Nor were their charges without foundation. Altogether, the condition of the South was far from happy. It was impoverished by the war, it needed capital to develop its resources, it was restless and discontented under the Republican reconstruction policy. The reconstructed governments felt their inefficiency and powerlessness, and appealed to President Grant for assistance. To this appeal Grant always responded. He sent troops wherever they were needed, and showed that United States authority was behind the unpopular State governments. But it was beginning to be plain that the South must in the end be allowed to manage its own affairs. Bayonet rule was an anomaly in a free republic.

It was during this administration (May 8, 1871) that the important Treaty of Washington was arranged between Great Britain and the United States. By its provisions the Alabama Claims (p. 303) and the San Juan boundary dispute were submitted to arbitration, and the question of the Canadian Fisheries was referred to a special commission. The decision regarding San Juan was given in 1872, and this small island, which lies near Vancouver's Island and which was claimed both by Great Britain and the United States, was awarded to the latter power by the Emperor of Germany; but the Fisheries question was settled by an international commission in 1877, greatly to the advantage of Great Britain.[1]

Grant's administration was on the whole a period of great national prosperity. The mineral and agricultural resources were developed. New railroads were built. Manufacturing interests flourished. So enormously did the wealth of the country increase that it was possible to pay off the national debt very rapidly without making the burden of taxation

[1] The difficulties between Canada and the United States over the Fisheries question are briefly stated on p. 341. A general survey of the subject may be found in Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia for 1887, p. 280 *et seq.*, and a fuller treatment in the *Fortnightly Review*, 53:741; the *American Law Review*, 21:369 (applying to the question the principles of international law); and the *Nation*, 44:443. Of special importance are the documents bearing upon this question in the "Foreign Relations of the United States" for 1878, particularly the letter from Mr. Evarts to Mr. John Welsh on p. 290, and Lord Salisbury's reply to the same on p. 316.

heavy. And the population of the country increased steadily, till in 1870 it had reached the figure of 38,558,371.

And yet this prosperity was mainly material and external, and was therefore deceptive in its character. So absorbed had the nation been by the great problem of reconstruction that it had been blind to the manifold dangers that were beginning to threaten its political life. And that these dangers were not at once discerned was only natural. The long excitement of the struggle with slavery, followed by the fierce agonies of civil war, had severely taxed the national energy and had inclined the popular mind rather to a justifiable pride in what had been accomplished than to an anticipation of coming evils. Hence the average citizen failed to see that he was face to face with new and difficult problems, and that in a great democracy, quite as much as under a despotism, liberty is only secured by ceaseless vigilance. The demoralization of the civil service, the vicious use of money in political campaigns, the general disappearance of statesmen from public life, the growing indifference of Congressmen to all things but party success, and their incompetence to deal with grave economic and social problems, escaped general notice. Yet there were many clear-sighted men who were far from satisfied with the condition of the country. Respecting Grant as a general and a citizen, they did not believe him a statesman. Under his management of affairs they saw corruption in office overlooked, and party intolerance and narrowness encouraged. Moreover, they thoroughly disapproved of maintaining the reconstruction governments by military force. This discontent showed itself in the presidential campaign of 1872. A number of liberal Republicans, prominent among whom was Carl Schurz of Missouri, determined to make an independent nomination. They selected Horace Greeley of New York and B. Gratz Brown of Missouri as their candidates, and these nominations were approved by the Democratic National Convention. But the choice was not a fortunate one. Horace Greeley was a man of the purest intentions, but he was considered erratic and unpractical, and he did not command the confidence of the nation. His candidacy therefore became little better than a farce. The Republicans nominated President Grant and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, and easily swept the country. Of the 366 electoral votes

cast their candidate received all but 80. So the Independent movement suffered a defeat that disguised its real strength and meaning. For many Republicans were growing more and more out of sympathy with their party. They disliked its high tariff policy. They resisted its claim that the Democrats could not safely be trusted with the management of national affairs. They believed, furthermore, that the unlimited continuance of one party in power was undemocratic and unwise.

The course of events in Grant's second administration only increased their dissatisfaction. Political scandals were numerous and involved many government officials. The Indians were cheated and made rebellious by the Indian agents. In the West a whiskey ring of distillers and revenue officers was found to be systematically swindling the Government. The Credit Mobilier, an organization founded to push through the Pacific Railroad, secured the votes of Congressmen by presents of stock. Even a member of the Cabinet was suspected of taking bribes, and only escaped impeachment by resigning. The political atmosphere at Washington was unwholesome, and some of Grant's own friends were implicated in dishonest practices. That the President himself was thoroughly upright and honorable was never for a moment doubted. His character was one of noble simplicity and directness. He was indeed so free from guile that he could not suspect it in others. Hence he persisted in believing his associates honest and in protecting them, even when their guilt was clearly shown. Consequently, through his very magnanimity, his administration was in bad odor before its close.

Nor did the national prosperity continue without check during Grant's second term. Railroads were built faster than the country needed them, and the capital thus invested brought no returns. Property accordingly depreciated. Money became scarce. In 1873 a financial panic occurred and made business stagnant for several years.

Hence the Republicans could not engage in the national election of 1876 with absolute confidence. They could not point to a clean administration of affairs. They could not rely upon a solid support in either the North or the South. For in the North they had lost many of their supporters; and in the South the whites were gaining control of the State

governments and were intimidating the negroes. In only three States, South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, were the reconstruction governments still maintained. In all the other Southern States the people had overthrown them at the polls, elected their own governors, and assumed entire control of their own affairs. And this control meant that the negroes would no longer be allowed to vote. The whites were determined, by fair means or foul, to be the dominant race in the South. So they kept the negroes from the polls and made a Republican majority in the South impossible for many years. For throughout the South the whites continued to support the Democratic party, as they had done before the war.

As a result of this state of affairs the election was bitterly contested. The Republicans nominated Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio and William A. Wheeler of New York. Their most brilliant leader was James G. Blaine of Maine; but, though he had an enthusiastic following in the National Republican Convention, many viewed him with distrust, and he could not command a majority of the delegates. The Democrats put forward their most eminent statesman, Samuel J. Tilden of New York, a man of great ability and of wide and successful experience in public affairs. As Governor of New York he had carried out reforms with a vigorous hand. The Democratic candidate for Vice-President was Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana. Nominations were also made by the Greenback, or National party; and, though its candidates obtained no electoral votes, the independent stand made by the party was significant. It pointed to the fact that many voters were disposed to make finance the leading political issue. As time passed this tendency increased. The discontented classes grew more numerous, and they demanded that the Government should remedy their grievances by making money more abundant. The Greenback party came to an end, but the Free Silver party took its place, and finally, in the last decade of the century, free silver was made the dominant issue in a presidential campaign.

The country was prepared for a close contest; hardly for the condition of affairs that followed the election. For when the returns were made from the various States, it was found that each party claimed the victory. This was owing to the fact that in Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina the result was

in doubt. These were the States still controlled by reconstruction governments; and these governments insisted that the returning boards, which announced the result of an election, should have the right to throw out all votes which they considered improperly cast. The excuse for this action was that there was much fraud at the polls, because the whites took possession of them in certain counties, and either rejected the negro vote, or cast enough dishonest votes to put it in a minority. And this excuse had abundant justification in fact. Both by intimidation and by fraud the whites in the South prevented the negro vote from outnumbering their own. But it was a grave question whether the arbitrary conduct of the returning boards were not a greater evil than unfairness at the polls. For in a close national election the few men who constituted the returning board in a doubtful State had it in their power to decide the result of the contest. Thus they were under a powerful temptation to forget justice in the interests of party.

The returning boards of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana gave the vote of their States to the Republican electors. But the Democrats claimed that they had carried each of these States and that the action of the returning boards was illegal. Thus a dispute arose which it was extremely difficult to settle. For no one had the right to decide whether the Republican or the Democratic electors had been chosen in the doubtful States. But trouble was avoided by the appointment of a special Electoral Commission. Both Houses of Congress agreed that a board of fifteen members should be chosen to decide all disputed questions that had arisen in connection with the election. Five members were to be chosen by the Senate; five by the House; and five from the Supreme Bench of the United States. The decisions of the Board were to be final, unless both Houses should agree to set them aside; and as the Senate was Republican while the House was Democratic, such an agreement was practically impossible.

The Senate chose three Republicans and two Democrats to sit on the Board; the House chose three Democrats and two Republicans. The Justices were to be appointed by seniority; and it was expected that two of them would be Republicans, two Democrats, and one, David Davis of Illinois, an Inde-

pendent. But just at this juncture Judge Davis was chosen United States Senator by the legislature of Illinois, and the Justice who by right of seniority now served in his place on the Board was not an Independent, but a Republican. So the Republicans now had a majority of one in the Electoral Commission.

Small as this majority was, it was sufficient to give the election to Hayes. For the members of the Commission voted for their own party on nearly every question that came before them. South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana were counted as Republican States, and Hayes thus received 185 votes in the Electoral College to Tilden's 184.

The result was a bitter disappointment to the Democrats. They had originally been more heartily in favor of the Electoral Commission than the Republicans; for they had fully expected Judge Davis to be one of its members, and they had felt sure that he would consider the action of the returning boards illegal. In that event the doubtful States would have been pronounced Democratic, and Tilden, not Hayes, would have received 185 electoral votes. But the Democrats quietly accepted the verdict of the Commission. Hayes was inaugurated without opposition, though some never ceased to maintain that he was not lawfully elected.

CHAPTER IX

THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF HAYES, GARFIELD, AND ARTHUR

Rutherford B. Hayes was born in Ohio in 1822. A lawyer by profession, he abandoned his practice to serve in the Union army, and rose to the rank of brevet major general by his efficiency and gallantry. At the close of the war he was elected to the National House of Representatives. In 1867 he was chosen Governor of his own State, was reëlected in 1869, and was again chosen in 1875. A man of rare purity of purpose, he gave the country an excellent administration. He selected a Cabinet of very able men; his foreign appointments were unusually good. All the branches of government were efficiently managed, though the civil service suffered from the vicious system of giving the victor the spoils. So great were the evils of this system, which Jackson had inaugurated, that Civil Service Reform now became an important national question. Already was it becoming apparent that the habit of awarding office in return for party service was corrupting the morals of the nation. But it was a habit not easily mended, for it was highly approved by the politicians of both parties. Only by long years of agitation was the sentiment of the country so aroused against this abuse that Congress was obliged to remedy it.

The Treasury Department was conducted with conspicuous ability under President Hayes by Secretary Sherman. This skilful financier refunded the national debt at a much lower rate of interest than had previously been paid; and in 1879 he brought about the resumption of specie payments. Gold was no longer at a premium. The national finances now seemed to be in a thoroughly sound condition. The yearly income exceeded the expenditure by as much as $100,000,000, and this surplus was used in paying off the national debt.

About the same time that specie payments were resumed the financial panic which had begun in 1873 ceased to be felt. Money became plentiful; commercial enterprises flourished. American wheat was extensively demanded in Europe, and it commanded a high price; so the farmers of the country were prosperous. Moreover, new inventions enormously increased the capital of the country. In particular, electricity began to be applied to the arts and conveniences of life. The telephone made business operations more easy and simple. Electric lighting and electric motors were soon to come into general use.

But with the rapid growth of wealth new and troublesome questions arose. The wage-earning class grew dissatisfied as it saw large fortunes acquired by a few, while many had only a bare subsistence. Not that wages were low in the United States. On the contrary, the laboring class was able to live in comfort. If there was occasional distress when times were hard, it was not long continued or widespread. Many, it is true, suffered from the keenness of business competition. Some industries could only be carried on at a profit by allowing the most meagre wages to employees. But on the whole the condition of the workingman in the United States was a prosperous one.

This, however, the workingman himself was not inclined to admit. Not his comparative comfort, but his comparative poverty, impressed him. He saw many who were poorer than himself, but he also saw many who were very much richer than himself. Hence he was always inclined to resist a reduction of wages, and the strike was his favorite means of defending himself against what he considered the tyrannical exactions of wealthy corporations. In 1877 there was a very widespread strike of the railroad employees in the West, as the result of an attempt to reduce their wages. As the strikers were unwilling that other men should take their vacant places, they resorted to violence, and were only put down by the soldiery. Riots occurred in St. Louis, Chicago, and other cities, and property worth millions of dollars was destroyed. It was some two weeks after the first outbreak before order was restored. This riotous movement was not merely serious in itself; it was significant of the feeling of the workingmen. It gave evidence of a growing revolt against the power of

capital. Nor was this revolt a blind and unreasoning one. Only two years after the great strike there appeared a remarkable book entitled "Progress and Poverty," which was a forcible and impassioned argument against one form of property holding. The author, Henry George, was himself a workingman. Impressed by the sufferings of his own class, he had made a careful study of the causes of poverty, and had concluded they were all to be traced to the individual ownership of land. So to his mind progress was synonymous with land communism. Naturally, his theories did not find favor with property holders, nor have they been accepted by the most eminent students of political economy. Yet they have made many converts, not only among workingmen, but among thoughtful and highly educated people. The "Single Tax" movement, as Mr. George's would-be reform is designated, has grown into a well-organized effort to revolutionize society. Its success seems remote and improbable, but its champions lose none of their zeal and earnestness in the face of discouragement.

Another movement that began during Hayes's administration proved ultimately to spring from the same roots as the single tax idea, for it was at this time that the silver question attracted general attention. In 1873 Congress had once more given its attention to the coinage question, and had voted to coin no more silver dollars. At first the action excited little comment, for it was not taken without good reason. The yearly output of the silver mines was increasing; silver was becoming less valuable than it had been; the dollar coined from it was no longer worth a dollar in gold. So Congress decided to retire the silver dollar from circulation, and to make debts payable only in gold. Other nations had taken this stand. Unless the United States followed their example, these nations would be likely to send their silver to America, where a demand for it still existed.

But it is hard for the general public to understand the laws of finance. To the untrained mind it appeared that the demonetization of silver was an injustice to the poor and a benefit to the rich. In reality it helped the poor much more than it did the rich; for if silver crowded out gold, and a dollar worth only ninety cents became the unit of value, the

workingmen, as having the narrowest incomes, would feel the depreciation most keenly. But this was not understood by the people. It was believed that the law of 1873 was framed in the interest of the bondholders, who by means of it were enabled to exact payment in gold. Hence there arose a general demand that silver should once more be put in circulation. Congress bowed to the demand; and thus the people, with their ignorance of financial laws, began to assume control over financial legislation. That this is one of the inevitable results of democracy must be admitted; but it is a result that brings with it long periods of stagnation in business and frequent menace to the material prosperity of the country. Accordingly, in 1878, it was voted in Congress by an overwhelming majority that the silver dollar should be coined again, and should be legal tender, the men of both parties uniting to bring about this result. The Secretary of the Treasury was instructed to coin not less than two million dollars a month, and gradually vast stores of this bulky coin were accumulated in the Government's vaults. Nevertheless the price of silver fell steadily, so great was the quantity produced, until the silver dollar came to be worth hardly more than half its face value and threatened to drive gold out of circulation.

Yet in face of these facts the people believed in it still. Even though they disliked to carry it about in their pockets, they regarded it with affection as the poor man's dollar. To them it represented cheap and abundant money. The attempt to drive it out of circulation they regarded as a nefarious scheme of the wealthy classes, whose interests were identical with those of gold, while silver was the friend of the workingman. In short, the poorer classes demanded the silver dollar in the same spirit that they demanded a more equal distribution of wealth, government ownership of land, and legislation against capital and rich corporations.

All this was not apparent when the agitation in favor of silver was first started. Indeed, President Hayes's administration was a period of great prosperity, and its true significance was not understood. What the country saw was that bayonet rule was brought to an end in the South and the reconstruction governments were thus allowed to collapse; the public debt was rapidly paid off; specie payments were resumed; business

confidence was restored; Indian affairs were justly managed by Mr. Schurz as Secretary of the Interior; and foreign gold flowed freely into the country, owing to the extensive export trade. Even shrewd students and observers were misled by the prosperous appearance of the country. Mr. Schurz in a public address congratulated his hearers on the smooth and favorable course of national affairs, which he contrasted with England's difficulties over the Irish question and over the impoverishment of the farming class. Nor were there, indeed, any movements beneath the surface which should have excited serious apprehension even had they been understood. No troubles were developing that the nation could not meet and overcome. But the troubles were there. They were taking shape all through President Hayes's excellent administration of affairs. Before long they were to appear formidable and to put the strength of the nation to new and searching tests. Hence, to the political student the administration of Hayes will always be a period of peculiar interest.

President Hayes was not renominated by his party, as he had not made himself popular with the politicians. In the National Republican Convention in 1880, ex-President Grant had a large and devoted following, while Mr. Blaine's friends were active and hopeful; but the choice finally fell upon James A. Garfield of Ohio, Chester A. Arthur of New York receiving the nomination for the vice-presidency. The Democrats, to vindicate their loyalty to the Union and to conciliate Northern sentiment, nominated for the presidency Winfield S. Hancock of New York, who had been one of the most brilliant and gallant Union generals in the Civil War. The second place on the ticket they gave to William H. English of Indiana. But this attempt to win Northern votes was not successful. Hancock had no political training or experience, and, to overcome this deficiency, he had not Grant's immense popularity with the country. His candidacy did not find favor in the North. In the Electoral College he received only 155 votes against 214 that were cast for Garfield.

James A. Garfield was born in Ohio in 1831. Like Hayes, he was a lawyer by profession, and like him he abandoned the law to serve first in the Union army and afterward in Congress. His war record was creditable, as he attained the rank of major

general. In Congress he showed ready power in debate and became one of the foremost Republican leaders. He was in the House of Representatives from 1863 to 1880; but at the time of his nomination he was serving in the Senate. His ability and his personal integrity made the country look for an admirable administration of affairs during his term of office.

But in the short time that Garfield lived after his inauguration he did not make good this expectation. The demand for civil service reform was not yet loud or general. Garfield gave a very faint-hearted support to this cause, though it had been indorsed in the platform in which he was nominated. He recognized the opponents of the reform in choosing his Cabinet. He awarded office as a return for party service. He showed himself an astute politician rather than a great and intrepid leader. But his tragic fate made the country forget his weaknesses and extol his virtues. On July 2, 1881, only four months after his inauguration, he was shot by a man whom he had refused to appoint to office and who thirsted for notoriety and vengeance. For nearly three months the injured President clung to life, but the wound proved mortal. On the 19th of September he died near Long Branch in New Jersey.

Vice-President Arthur, who succeeded him, had not had a creditable public career. As collector of the port of New York he had affiliated with intriguing politicians, and had shown no sympathy with reform movements. But the grave responsibilities he now assumed awoke in him a lofty sense of duty. He threw off unworthy associates, conducted himself with rare dignity and discretion, and proved an able and upright executive. During his term of office the country continued to be prosperous. All branches of industry flourished, and there were few manifestations of discontent among the poorer classes. Under these favorable conditions the resources of the South began to be rapidly developed. Northern capital found its way into the Southern States. New railroads were constructed in them, factories were established, mines were opened. Under free labor the South was beginning to build up a substantial prosperity.

Nor was the progress of this period merely material. The shocking death of Garfield had turned the attention of the country to the corrupt condition of its civil service. Washington

was thronged with office-seekers at every presidential inauguration; and it was one of these office-seekers who had assassinated the late President. The indignation caused by the act gave the friends of civil service reform their opportunity. They succeeded in passing through Congress a law which empowered the President to appoint commissioners to examine and recommend candidates for office. Thus merit and not zealous political partisanship was to establish the right to an appointment. Unfortunately, however, there remained a large class of government offices outside the scope of the law; and those officials to whom it applied were not to retain their places through good behavior, but only for four years. So the victory of civil service reform was by no means complete. Still, a victory had been gained.

The tariff question also came up in President Arthur's administration. The scale of duties adopted during the Civil War had not since been changed; and with the growth of trade it had brought very large returns to the national treasury. So long as the surplus revenues were used in paying off the national debt, this condition of affairs occasioned no difficulties. But the time had come when the debt could not be much further reduced. For when Secretary Sherman had carried through his refunding scheme, he had been obliged to postpone the redemption of the Government's bonds for a long term of years in order to dispose of them at a lower rate of interest. Consequently, there was no immediate use for the government surplus; and to prevent it from accumulating every year it seemed necessary to reduce the revenue. The natural way to do this was to lower the duties on imports. So a new tariff law was passed by Congress in 1883, but it did not accomplish the end desired. The duties were only slightly reduced, and the Republicans strongly objected to a further reduction. The Democrats, on the other hand, were earnestly opposed to a high tariff, as they had been during Jackson's administration. So protection became once more a prominent political question. For a number of years it obscured all other interests and divided the two great parties. It was the paramount political issue in the presidential campaign of 1884.

But after the nominations were made in that year, the platforms of the two great parties were wellnigh forgotten in the

vigorous and abusive warfare that was waged against the personal characters of the two presidential candidates. Mr. Blaine was nominated by the Republicans, to the delight of his numerous and enthusiastic admirers. The Democrats put forward Grover Cleveland, who had shown integrity and fearlessness as mayor of Buffalo, and as Governor of New York. The friends of civil service reform had watched his career with interest and urged his name for the presidency. As candidates for Vice-President the Republicans selected John A. Logan of Illinois, and the Democrats Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana. But scarcely were the nominations made when the warfare of recrimination began. Mr. Blaine was accused of official corruption; while Mr. Cleveland's private character was attacked. Each party declared that the nation would be disgraced if the candidate of the other party should be elected. But the truth of the charges cannot be here considered. They are mentioned as showing that political contests in the United States easily degenerate into vituperation; and yet that the good sense of the country condemns such methods of warfare. For since 1884 the personal characters of the presidential candidates have not been assailed. The national elections have been conducted with dignity, moderation, and fairness. One virulent and acrimonious campaign sufficed the nation.

The election was closely contested and was decided by the Independent vote. Many Republicans voted for the Democratic candidates, because they disliked the high tariff policy of their party and because they distrusted Mr. Blaine. So the movement which had resulted in the unfortunate nomination of Horace Greeley in 1872 now achieved a signal success. It placed a reform leader in the White House. For, by carrying the State of New York, Mr. Cleveland secured the presidency. He received 219 votes in the Electoral College out of 401.

CHAPTER X

THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF CLEVELAND, HARRISON, AND McKINLEY

Grover Cleveland was born in New Jersey in 1837. In 1855 he settled in Buffalo, New York, and was there admitted to the bar in 1859. Elected mayor of the city in 1881 by an overwhelming majority, he excited admiration by his fearless exercise of the power of veto. This same independence he showed as Governor of the State. It was therefore confidently expected that as President he would resist the unprincipled politicians of his party and would further the cause of civil service reform.

But President Cleveland's position was a peculiarly trying one. When he assumed office, the Republicans had been in power for nearly twenty-five years. During that time they had filled all the public offices with their own partisans, and too often these offices had been used in the interests of party. The Democrats therefore deemed it grossly unfair that they should now be excluded from office by the new civil service law, just as they had, after long waiting, succeeded in carrying a national election. They demanded that President Cleveland should dismiss the Republican office-holders, and give their places to the men of his own political creed. This demand the President resisted. He announced that he would only remove offensive partisans, and for a time he lived up to this principle. But gradually he gave way to party pressure. The Republicans were slowly and quietly dismissed, and only a small percentage of them remained in office at the end of the administration. Apparently President Cleveland regarded civil service reform as secondary to the tariff question. Desiring to keep his hold upon his party and to dominate its counsels, he sacrificed for the time being a cause which the Democratic politicians did not regard with favor.

But in the use of the veto President Cleveland was uncompromising and fearless. He would give his sanction to no legislation that did not command his hearty approval. Pension bills in particular he vetoed with an unsparing hand, and in so doing he rendered the country valuable service. For the pension system was growing to be an evil. Neither party was willing to resist the demand for pensions, through fear of offending the veterans who had served in the Union army and losing their vote. So the amount granted for pensions was increased year by year, and was gradually absorbing the surplus revenues of the Government. Indeed, the time was approaching when income would not meet expenses.

The discontent of the laboring classes, which had manifested itself during Hayes's administration, broke out anew under President Cleveland. For the prosperous years that had followed the long financial disturbance of the seventies had by no means put an end to the dissatisfaction of the workingmen. Encouraged by German Socialists who had settled in this country, and by other mischievous leaders, they had cherished their resentment toward the wealthy classes through the days of good wages and plentiful occupation. Through trade-unions and other organizations they encouraged strikes, intimidated corporations and demanded a new and more equitable distribution of wealth; and so insistent were their demands in the earlier years of President Cleveland's administration, that they forced the labor question upon the attention of the country. It was in recognition of their claims that Congress passed the Contract Labor Act in 1885, the object of which was to prevent the promoters of large enterprises from importing cheap labor from Europe. And Chinese immigration, which had been partially checked in 1880, was now still further restricted. To the laborers of California the presence of the Chinese had long been a grievance. For these clever and industrious Mongolians gave skilled labor for low wages. Nor was Chinese immigration alone objected to in Congress. An attempt was made to stem the tide of ignorant and impoverished peasants that was constantly pouring into the country from Europe. But at this time nothing was accomplished in that direction. More successful was the endeavor to bring the railroads under control, for the Interstate Commerce Act was passed by Congress in

1887. It was aimed against railroad practices which were considered unjust, and it forbade those roads which extended through more than one State to make unfair distinctions in their freight and passenger charges. Thus the old Federalist interpretation of the Constitution seemed to gain in favor, and in accordance with this interpretation the Government was continually assuming new authority to meet new conditions and emergencies. But it was not doing this without exciting criticism from those who still held to the creed of the old Anti-Federalist party. For the thinkers of this school believe that, in exercising control over trade, the Government is exceeding its just and constitutional rights. They think that trade should work out its own laws quite unrestricted, and that Government cannot interfere with these laws without causing gross injustice. The attempt to control them always springs from the desire to protect one class of citizens against another, and thus leads the legislators of the country into making dangerous discriminations and into strengthening corrupt political tendencies. For if the protective theory is once established, every class has a right to claim advantage from it. It cannot be used solely to benefit the poor and the victims of competition. If their condition is bettered by it, the rich will also demand that it be exerted in their behalf. More than this, they will bring the tremendous power and influence of capital to bear upon State legislatures and upon the national Congress in order to secure the passage of such measures as they desire. Subjected to such pressure, legislators lose their sense of responsibility. They ignore the true interests of their constituents, wrangle over ill-advised and iniquitous schemes, and promote the growth of the lobby. State legislatures are at times swayed by giant monopolies, and again are roused to a fierce warfare on the owners of property; while Congress is distracted by the noisy claims of conflicting influences. In particular, whenever a new tariff law is framed, the representatives of the various industries gather at Washington, and all demand extravagant duties on the products they manufacture or produce from the soil. But it is found that even in granting the demands of some interests, the interests of others are seriously injured. So great perplexity arises.

Such are the arguments of those who oppose the protective

theory of government. They are sound and forcible arguments; they will always be employed against government paternalism; they will always be needed when centralization grows overweeningly arrogant and aggressive. But it is safe to say they will not convince the people. In this day and time it is impossible to restrict the functions of the Government to levying taxes and spending them judiciously, as the early Anti-Federalists desired. For a hundred years the very existence of the nation has been dependent upon material prosperity. The development of the country's resources, the use of labor-saving machines, the spread of railways, the multiplication of devices for subduing the forces of nature, have all promoted the growth of the nation and given it community of thought and feeling. Through coal, through the steam-engine, and through electrical inventions, the people of the country are made independent, and become, as it were, the partners in one gigantic enterprise. Without the help of modern science they could not have a common political experience and common commercial interests.

Thus legislation has inevitably concerned itself with the forces that have contributed to the nation's growth. It has extended its jurisdiction over factories, roads, canals, railways, patents, and even over trade itself.[1] For a long period, indeed, its object was to promote commerce, manufactures, industries, and invention. By a protective tariff it stimulated domestic manufactures. By securing ample rights to proprietors it helped the growth of railroads and other highways, and encouraged inventive genius. But, having once taken these branches of human enterprise under its fostering care and established its right to supervise and control them, legislation proceeded to curtail and cripple them when it felt that they were growing dangerous. As capital increased enormously and fortunes grew to colossal size, the people became afraid of the power of money. Trusts began to be extensively formed during President Cleveland's administration, and caused much adverse criticism. It was quite generally believed that they kept prices high by preventing competition. Whether trusts produce such a result may be questioned. If they check competition, they also promote economical methods of putting articles

[1] *Atlantic Monthly*, 81: 120.

on the market. But the people viewed these gigantic operations with alarm, and they also became hostile to great corporations which they saw acquiring enormous influence and attempting to control legislation. They concluded that capital was becoming a foe to democracy, and many were persuaded that the accumulation of wealth should be entirely prevented. Hence the last two decades of the century have witnessed a vigorous and persistent war upon capital. Both Congress and State legislatures have passed numerous laws designed to check the increase of private and corporate wealth. The State is asserting itself against the individual. State socialism is still far away, but it is slowly gaining ground. The poor man is jealous of the millionnaire. Unable to contend with so powerful an adversary, he invokes the aid of the State. The State listens to his demands and voices them in its statutes. So corporate privileges are restricted, large dividends are forbidden, double taxation is allowed, and town and city governments are empowered to acquire control of corporate enterprises on very low terms.

It is therefore folly to suppose that the Government will let trade alone. Its tendency is to exercise a fuller authority over the commercial world. In doing this, it becomes guilty of glaring inconsistencies and it makes egregious blunders. The wisdom of the Government is the wisdom of the politicians; the politicians obey the popular will; and the popular will is a very unenlightened will on questions of taxation, finance, and political economy. Or, again, the politicians obey their own selfish will, and make laws in the interests of corrupt rings and ambitious party demagogues. Hence we see the most absurd contradictions in the legislation of the day. Government smites the rich with its right hand and raises them up with its left. It helps the poor to their feet and then fells them to the earth. By coining vast stores of silver dollars, it enriched the owners of silver mines at the expense of the rest of the nation. By refusing to retire the greenbacks, it causes a general financial uneasiness, makes capital timid, and deprives labor of the means of support it gets from large business enterprises. And by an unscientific tariff it puts a needless burden on rich and poor alike. Nor will such absurdities of legislation altogether disappear with added and riper experi-

ence. The problems of modern statecraft are excessively difficult. Democracy cannot solve them. The best that it can hope to do is to attain to a more enlightened form of government than has been known under the rule of a privileged few. Its mistakes are sometimes very foolish; its basis of activity is sound. For it proceeds upon the supposition that all men have equal rights.

As the presidential campaign of 1888 drew near, President Cleveland, to the dismay of the Democratic politicians, forced his party to advocate a reduction in the tariff. His last message to Congress contained a bold and uncompromising utterance against high tariff duties; and, as the Democratic party had always been an opponent of protection, it could not now ignore the opinions of its leading statesman. It renominated Mr. Cleveland, associating with him Allen G. Thurman of Ohio, and it indorsed the President's views upon the tariff. The Republicans nominated Benjamin Harrison of Indiana and Levi P. Morton of New York. The policy of protection received the fullest support in their platform. So the tariff question was fairly before the country. Measures, not men, were discussed in the political campaign that now followed. The voters of the nation were now to decide between tariff for revenue and tariff for protection.

They decided in favor of protection, the result of the election hinging, as in 1884, upon the vote of New York. This State gave Harrison and Morton a small majority and accomplished the defeat of Cleveland. For the latter would have had a majority of seven in the Electoral College if New York's thirty-six votes had been cast in his favor. The Prohibitionists had also made nominations, but their candidates received no electoral votes.

President Harrison, who was born in Ohio in 1833, was a grandson of William Henry Harrison, the ninth President of the United States. He settled in Indianapolis in 1854, and successfully practised law there until 1862. Joining the Indiana volunteers with a second lieutenant's commission, he was promoted for brave and efficient service and was made brevet brigadier general in 1865. He was therefore the fourth military general elected President by the Republicans since the Civil War. He returned to the profession of law at the close

of the war, but his activity brought him political preferment, and in 1881 he was chosen a member of the United States Senate. Thus his legal, military, and political career were highly honorable. As President he showed an inclination to indorse the legislation of his party and not to make an extensive use of the power of veto.

The most important matters connected with his administration were the following: —

I. A new silver bill, called the Sherman Act, was passed by Congress. It provided that 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion should be purchased by the treasury every month and made into dollars. For this coin certificates were to be issued which should be legal tender for debts public and private. The act was passed in obedience to a strong and growing class which advocated the free coinage of silver; but its effects were very unfortunate. The coinage of $2,000,000 a month under the law of 1878 had not caused serious disturbance, owing to the steady increase in the volume of the business of the country. For, as business expands, a corresponding expansion in the currency is needed. The silver dollar itself was indeed too bulky a coin to circulate; but by issuing silver certificates the treasury was able to make the silver coinage useful. But after the Sherman Act went into operation, the volume of currency increased far faster than the volume of business. And meanwhile silver steadily depreciated, till the silver dollar was worth hardly more than half of its face value. So silver, the cheaper metal, was accumulated in the treasury in immense quantities; gold, the dearer metal, was continually drawn from the treasury for foreign exchange. Hence the cheaper metal was threatening to drive out the dearer. Business was becoming stagnant in view of a probable change in the standard of value.

II. A new tariff measure, known as the McKinley Bill, was passed by Congress. This was a natural consequence of the Republican triumph in the national election; for the Republicans not only elected their presidential candidate, but they also secured a majority in the Senate and the House of Representatives. Hence they were able to pass a tariff law which fairly expressed the Republican theory that native industries should be amply protected from foreign competition. The

McKinley Bill put so high a duty on foreign products as virtually to exclude many of them from the country. Thus, by diminishing exports and by putting sugar on the free list, the national revenue was curtailed by about $60,000,000. And this was in keeping with Republican policy. As there had for a considerable time been a yearly surplus in the national treasury, and this surplus could not now be used in redeeming the government bonds which had not yet matured, the Republicans claimed that a protective tariff performed a double service. It not only encouraged domestic manufactures, but it prevented the accumulation of an undesirable surplus. And for a time these statements seemed to be justified by facts.

III. A tendency to extravagant expenditure began to manifest itself in Congress. The pension list was greatly increased by a bill granting eight dollars a month to every veteran over sixty years old who had served in the Union army during the Civil War.

By this provision the amount yearly spent on pensions reached in 1893 the figure of $160,000,000. The naval appropriation was, not without reason, made more ample, in order to provide for the construction of new cruisers. Large sums were allowed for improving rivers and harbors; and in many ways the grants of public money were unnecessarily large. As a result of this extravagance, the annual expenditure crept gradually toward the total of $400,000,000. Before President Harrison's administration came to an end, the revenues of the Government hardly exceeded its expenses.[1] Nor was this condition of affairs in itself unfortunate. It was well that no

[1] The following figures show how revenues diminished and expenditures increased, until the latter exceeded the former: —

	Revenue	Expenditure
1890	$403,080,983	$297,736,487
1891	392,612,447	365,773,905
1892	354,937,784	345,023,331
1893	385,819,629	383,477,955
1894	297,772,019	367,525,280
1895	313,390,075	356,195,298
1896	326,976,200	352,179,446

surplus should exist as a temptation to cupidity. But the tendency toward extravagant expenditure was becoming firmly fixed in the minds of legislators, and was destined to produce unhappy results. For, even when income shrank, expenditure was not curtailed. Congress caught the spirit of extravagance which wealth and prosperity have developed in the American people.

IV. Reciprocity, which had been advocated by Mr. Blaine, received a limited and partial trial while the McKinley Bill was in operation. By one of the provisions of that measure, sugars of a low grade, molasses, coffee, and hides were to be admitted into the United States free of duty unless the President should be convinced that the countries producing these articles would not show equal favor to the products of the United States. Several Central American and South American states, besides some in Europe, took advantage of this provision. But the merits of reciprocity could not be fairly judged from this brief experiment. To the advocates of free trade the system seemed an improvement on a rigid high tariff, and a step toward the fulfilment of their own ideas. But Mr. Blaine always stoutly maintained that reciprocity was the foe of free trade and the ally of protection.

V. There were various indications during President Harrison's administration that socialistic opinions were gaining ground and that a warfare upon vested interests was preparing. Various strikes, some of them serious, occurred at this time. The single tax movement continued to be active. On September 2, 1890, delegates of the single tax clubs all over the country assembled at New York to form a permanent and united organization. And the silver agitation, the full significance of which was hardly seen as yet, had by no means quieted down. Business men looked with alarm upon the continual increase in the number of silver dollars. But not so the friends of the white metal. They still believed that the liberal coinage of silver was the only means of making money plentiful, and their antipathy to the gold standard grew more and more pronounced. Among the poorer classes in the country the conviction deepened that the capitalists were conspiring against them, and were trying to drive silver out of circulation through the most selfish motives. Hence their

feeling against trusts, monopolies, and wealthy corporations grew more intense and bitter.

VI. In some parts of the country lynch law assumed a dangerous and alarming activity. White people were infuriated by the brutal crimes of negroes, and sometimes inflicted upon the offenders a lingering and agonizing death. Through wide sections of territory there was manifested a fierce impatience with the law's delays. Those guilty of crimes punishable by death were promptly executed; for there seemed to exist a fear that the offenders would escape justice if brought to trial. So jails offered little security to their guilty inmates. Wardens and sheriffs were powerless to resist the mobs that gathered at the prison doors and demanded that notorious criminals should be given into their hands. Nor was this wild justice occasioned merely by race feeling. White men as well as colored were torn from their cells at night, or openly snatched from the officers of justice, and executed without trial.

This contempt for the processes of law was viewed with concern by all thoughtful citizens, and became a serious menace to American institutions. For, as time passed, this disease in the body politic only seemed to grow more desperate. As crimes became numerous, so did lynchings increase in frequency, until in many parts of the country the mobs learned to regard every depraved and vicious criminal as their legitimate prey. And all the more dangerous did these outbreaks of violence seem when they were contrasted with the almost unbroken reign of law in Europe. True, the populations of Europe are held in check by military rule. They do not take the administration of justice into their own hands because they dare not. The smallest outbreaks on their part would be promptly suppressed by the troops, though even the large standing armies do not prevent Socialists and other agitators from causing an occasional riot. But the very fact that lynch law is prevented in Europe keeps the taste for it from growing; while the constant resort to it in America cannot fail to engender lawlessness, destroy the love of justice, and feed unhealthy and degraded appetites. Not, therefore, until this tendency to override the law has been controlled, will the institutions of the country rest securely upon the affections and the good-will of the people.

VII. In the course of President Harrison's administration there occurred a striking reversal of the popular verdict given in the election of 1888. In that year the Republicans carried the country. In the elections of 1890 the Democrats made surprising gains and obtained a large majority in the lower House of Congress. Nor was it easy to ascribe the reason for this change of feeling. It could hardly be said that the country was dissatisfied with the policy of the Republicans, for that policy had not been fairly tried in so short a time. At least, the fruits of it were not yet fully matured. So the Democratic gains seemed to be largely due to a discontent not easily analyzed. There is, apparently, a large class of voters in the country who have no strong party affiliations and no fixed political principles. They want prosperity. They are ready to vote for any creed or party that promises better times. Hence, the results of a national election are sometimes quite misleading. Apparently, they indicate that the country has accepted the principles of the victorious party. In reality, they indicate that many voters, out of mere restlessness and unreasoning dissatisfaction, desire a change.

VIII. As a result of the discontent prevailing among the farmers and many persons of moderate means, the Populist party was organized in 1892. Its members were persuaded that the two great parties of the country were controlled by the railroads, the banks, and the speculators. They therefore determined that their own organization should be entirely free from these conflicting influences, and they so announced in their platform. Their political creed is that all railways should be owned by the public, and that Government should issue currency directly to the people, without using banks as a medium. They also believe in the free coinage of silver as a means of making money plentiful. The party has found many followers, especially among the unprosperous. In one or two States it has gained temporarily the ascendency. But it has only a handful of representatives in Congress, and has therefore been utterly unable to shape national legislation.

Mr. Harrison was renominated by the Republicans in 1892, Whitelaw Reid being given the second place on the ticket. The Democrats for the third time put Mr. Cleveland forward, and selected Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois as their candidate

for the vice-presidency. Both parties were confident of carrying the election. The Democrats were encouraged by their victory in 1890. The Republicans believed that the McKinley tariff met with the approval of the country, and that the congressional elections in 1892 showed merely a passing dissatisfaction with the Republican policy. But the result of the contest showed that this dissatisfaction had spread and deepened, instead of disappearing. Mr. Cleveland had a handsome majority in the popular vote, and he received 276 electoral votes to 145 cast for Harrison, and 23 for Weaver, the candidate of the People's party. The Prohibitionists had nominated John Bidwell, but he obtained no votes in the Electoral College.

Mr. Cleveland was duly inaugurated in March, 1893, and at once gave to the affairs of the nation that careful attention which they required. For the condition of the country was anything but satisfactory. Business was depressed, failures were common, financial disaster was apprehended. These evils President Cleveland attributed to excessive coinage of silver and to the high tariff established by the McKinley Bill. He was indeed a resolute foe to government paternalism in all its forms. More than once he had warned the country that government aid to the various forms of industry was robbing the people of their self-reliance and was undermining public morals. And he looked upon a protective tariff and upon legislation to help the production and the circulation of silver as peculiarly unfortunate forms of paternalism.

As the business situation grew worse in the early months of President Cleveland's administration, he determined to call a special session of Congress to pass relief legislation. That body was accordingly convened on August 7, 1893. The President called its attention to the unfortunate condition of affairs, showed how the gold standard was endangered by the constant issue of silver dollars and business consequently paralyzed, and demanded the repeal of the Sherman Bill of 1890. This recommendation Congress was ready to adopt, though Mr. Cleveland received in this matter as much support from the Republicans as from his own party. So the House promptly passed an act repealing the Sherman Bill; and a majority in the Senate was eager to confirm this action. But the Senators who believed in free silver coinage for a long time prevented

the Senate from voting. They insisted upon discussing the measure for repeal indefinitely, and they only allowed action to be taken on it after many weeks of obstruction. But finally, on the first of November, it was passed by the Senate and signed by the President. So the coinage of silver was stopped, the gold standard was temporarily made more secure, and business revived.

But so long as the greenbacks were in circulation the gold standard was in danger. Several times during Mr. Cleveland's administration the amount of gold in the treasury fell considerably below $100,000,000 and was only brought above the danger point by an issue of gold bonds. Such issue the President was empowered to make by an act of July 14, 1870; and if Mr. Cleveland had not freely used this power, gold would have been driven out of circulation. For it was needed in large sums for foreign exchange; and, by means of the greenbacks, those who wished to send gold abroad could draw it *ad libitum* from the treasury. Moreover, many were disposed to raid the treasury of its gold through fear that gold would soon be driven out of circulation by silver. Therefore Mr. Cleveland was obliged to contract for considerable sums of gold in order to keep the reserve in the treasury sufficiently large, and to issue bonds as security for the debt thus incurred. But this means of maintaining the gold standard was to his mind extremely objectionable, for it offered no permanent remedy for a desperate weakness in our fiscal system. More than once he urged Congress to retire the greenbacks, that the Government might be wholly relieved of the obligation of supplying gold on demand. But this action Congress steadily refused to take. Relief came, however, somewhat unexpectedly toward the end of President Cleveland's administration. For the foreign demand for American wheat became very great, owing to scant crops in Europe and India; our exports very largely exceeded our imports; and by the laws of exchange gold flowed very rapidly into the country from abroad. The gold reserve in the treasury was swelled to upward of $150,000,000. All fear of a change in the circulating medium was for a time put to rest. But the danger to the gold standard still existed, as the greenbacks had not been withdrawn from circulation.

The sweeping Democratic victory in 1892 was supposed by

the Democrats themselves to mean that the country demanded a large reduction in the tariff. That this supposition was correct may well be doubted. In late years the voters of the country have apparently changed their creed so many times that it is difficult to determine their attitude toward the tariff question. Hardly does one party win a victory at the polls, and acquire a handsome majority in Congress, before the decision is reversed and the other party rides triumphantly into power. Hence it is almost impossible to decide whether the people of the country want a high tariff or a low one. Probably the majority have no clear or decided views upon the subject. They want a scale of duties that will establish prosperity, but they are altogether unable to make sound inferences upon so intricate a question.

But the Democrats were unquestionably right in attacking the tariff question, whatever their victory in the election of 1892 may have signified. Their party stood committed to a low tariff policy, and they were bound to legislate in accordance with their platform. They accordingly framed a bill which greatly reduced the duties on imports and practically granted raw material; and it was passed by the House early in 1894. It was framed chiefly by Mr. Wilson, a representative of Virginia, and was originally called by his name. As arranged by him and as passed by the House, it fairly expressed the Democratic theory that tariff is for revenue rather than for protection. But some of the leading Democratic Senators desired protection for articles in which they were financially interested; and under their influence the bill was so essentially changed that it could hardly be recognized. Coal and iron were taken off the free list, and the duties on many articles were largely increased. The measure no longer reflected the principles of the Democratic party, and the House was very unwilling to accept the Senate amendments. For a time it looked as if the cause of tariff reform would be utterly lost in this disagreement between the two congressional bodies. But finally the House passed the bill as amended by the Senate, and Mr. Cleveland, by failing to return it with objections within ten days after receiving it, allowed it to become a law. In thus refusing to give it his signature, he showed his disapproval of the Senate's amendments. On the whole, the scale of duties it

established was considerably lower than that of the McKinley Bill of 1890, — so much lower, indeed, as to call forth severe criticisms from the Republicans. They determined to pass a strong protection measure in place of it as soon as they should be restored to power.

Evidence was given from time to time that the discontent among the poorer classes of the country was by no means diminishing. In the spring of 1894 a man named Coxey induced bands of unemployed men all over the country to march on to Washington that they might present their grievances to Congress. Those that started on this bizarre errand gave much trouble in the Western States by boarding railroad trains; but, in spite of their lawless efforts to steal rides, very few of them reached their destination. Coxey was himself arrested in the national Capitol, and the whole project resulted in a farce. More serious was an extensive strike of railroad employees that occurred in the summer of the same year. Beginning in the workyards of the Pullman Car Company near Chicago, it rapidly spread, until forty thousand railroad hands were idle, and most of the railroads in the West were unable to run their trains. Chicago became the centre of the disturbance, and there the strikers resorted to violence, intimidation, and wholesale destruction of railroad property. As Governor Altgeld of Illinois did not take summary measures to suppress the riot, President Cleveland sent United States troops to Chicago to quell the disturbance. And though he took this action against the earnest protest of Governor Altgeld, he was fully sustained by the sober sentiment of the country. For the rioters, by interfering with the United States mail service, made their violent conduct an offence against the national Government and gave the Government a perfectly valid reason for using its strength to put them down. So the outbreak was soon quieted. The strikers resumed work; the trains ran without interference. Once more had the central Government of the nation shown itself equal to an emergency and earned the respect of thoughtful citizens. Nor was its victory over lawlessness without its instructive lesson to railway owners. All over the country the managers of street railways tried to secure mail transportation over their lines, that they might count on Government protection in case of strikes.

While the laboring classes were manifesting their dissatisfaction in this violent manner, the wide and deep-seated feeling against capital and large fortunes showed itself in more peaceable ways. The State legislatures passed laws taxing inheritance and restricting the rights of monopolies; and the national legislature, in 1894, attempted to increase the diminishing revenues of the country by taxing incomes larger than forty-five hundred dollars. It was noticeable that those who voted in favor of this bill came largely from the poorer districts of the country, and those who voted against it from the centres where capital was accumulated. So the measure was additional evidence of the widespread conviction that capital should contribute more generously to the public support. Nor was this conviction by any means confined to the men of slender means. Many fair-minded observers of existing economical conditions believe the income tax a perfectly fair one, and a legitimate means of making wealth beneficial to the State. But in 1895 the tax on incomes was declared by the Supreme Court of the United States to be a direct tax and therefore unconstitutional, because it was not laid by apportionment.

Foreign affairs several times engrossed attention during Mr. Cleveland's term of office. The Bering Sea question, which had been the cause of long diplomatic negotiations between Great Britain and the United States, was finally settled in a manner adverse to the latter country in 1894. For the United States had claimed that it had a right to prevent the killing of seals in the open sea; but the court of arbitration appointed to consider the matter decided against the claim. That their decision was legally correct there can be no doubt. Pelagic sealing can only be stopped by an agreement between the two countries. But unless such an agreement is made and enforced, the seals will soon be exterminated. But a far more serious complication with England was caused by the Venezuela boundary question. As England, under Lord Salisbury's guidance, resisted the claim of the United States to have a voice in the matter, Mr. Cleveland took a very firm stand upon the question in his message to Congress in December, 1895. So menacing were his utterances that feeling was greatly excited in both countries, and war was considered possible. But after a

time calmer counsels prevailed. Congress authorized the President to appoint a commission to investigate and report upon the subject, and England finally allowed the question to be decided by arbitration. But the difficulties occasioned by the rebellion in Cuba (p. 108) were not so easily settled. For, as the war dragged on and Spain seemed unable to stamp out the insurrection, many Congressmen insisted that the United States should recognize the Cubans as belligerents, and should be prepared to annex the island if opportunity offered. But this policy Mr. Cleveland steadily opposed, and in his last message to Congress he expressed the conviction that the Cuban insurgents were without an organized government and could not properly be considered a warlike power. At the same time he gave Spain warning that the United States might feel justified in interfering, if she did not suppress the insurrection within a reasonable time.

This attitude was discreet and dignified, but it was much criticised by Mr. Cleveland's political opponents, as was also his conduct with reference to the Hawaiian Islands. Queen Liliuokalani succeeded to the sovereignty of the islands in 1891, upon the death of her brother, King Kalakaua; but her rule was so corrupt that she was deposed in 1893 by a small but influential portion of the population, who proclaimed a Republic and issued a new Constitution. Upon these revolutionary proceedings the American people were inclined to look with favor; but Mr. Cleveland recommended that Liliuokalani be restored to power. For a commissioner whom he had specially sent to investigate the Hawaiian difficulties reported that the American Minister on the islands had used his own influence and the presence of a United States ship-of-war in support of the insurgents. But the Senate declined to adopt the President's view; and on May 31, 1894, it agreed unanimously upon a policy of non-intervention in Hawaiian affairs.

As a civil service reformer Mr. Cleveland made a much better record in his second administration than he did in his first. By the Civil Service Law passed in 1883 only about fourteen thousand offices were filled through competitive examination. But gradually the number was increased. By the terms of the law the examination system could, at the discretion of the President, be made applicable to many of the

smaller postal and customs offices; and both Mr. Harrison and Mr. Cleveland took advantage of this provision. President Harrison widened the application of the law; and in the last year of his second administration President Cleveland applied it to forty thousand offices, which were about all that still remained outside of its scope. Thus civil service reform, which had so few friends at first and never found favor with the politicians, achieved in the end a signal triumph. Government officials are now appointed for merit, not for party service; and they are discharged only for cause, not because of a victory or a defeat at the polls. Nor can they be assessed for political purposes as they were in the most open and shameful manner before the days of the reform. It is worthy of note also that some of the States are adopting the national system of appointment to office. Both Massachusetts and New York have passed excellent civil service laws; but in the latter State the purport of the law has been largely defeated by corrupt political influence.

The presidential campaign of 1896 was one of the most interesting in the history of the country. The Republicans nominated William McKinley of Ohio, who had been one of the foremost leaders of the party ever since his name had been associated with the tariff bill of 1890; and Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey. In their platform they declared for the maintenance of the gold standard and for a revision of the tariff. The Democrats made the currency question the all-important one, and expressed themselves so unequivocally in favor of the free coinage of silver that the delegates who believed in maintaining the gold standard were driven out of the convention. Their nominees were William J. Bryan of Nebraska and Arthur Sewall of Maine. The nomination of Mr. Bryan was indorsed by the Populists, but they refused to accept Mr. Sewall as their candidate for Vice-President because of his wealth, and nominated instead Mr. Thomas E. Watson, an editor of Georgia. The Socialists and Prohibitionists also made nominations, and the Gold Democrats too put their own candidates in the field. For they were aware that many Democrats in the Western States who were bitterly opposed to free coinage were yet equally opposed to voting a Republican ticket. So, to give such voters a ticket they could con-

scientiously support and to give Democratic principles upon the tariff question a full and fair expression, they met at Indianapolis and nominated Senator Palmer of Illinois and ex-Governor Buckner of Kentucky.

As the campaign proceeded, the currency question became the absorbing one and drove all others from the field. The whole political strength of the nation was arrayed for or against the free coinage of silver. So the ordinary party distinctions were entirely lost. Lifelong Democrats declared in favor of the Republican ticket; and the Democrats who indorsed the Bryan nomination entirely abandoned the principles the party had stood for since 1789. For the Democrats had always opposed strong centralization and paternalism in all its forms. But now they wished to force silver coinage upon the country, put heavy taxes on wealth, and depreciate property by the power of the Government. So, while they still opposed protection, their opposition had no logical force and consistency; for they wished to give to silver the protection they denied to other things. Thus they at once condemned paternalism and indorsed it. And the party, which in the days of slavery had been led by the Southern aristocracy, had now become the organization of the dissatisfied. It embodied most of the socialistic tendencies that had been manifesting themselves more and more since the beginning of Hayes's presidency. The party leaders were not prosperous men as a rule, not trained political thinkers. They were sturdy, intense, and honest men who were thoroughly opposed to the accumulation of large fortunes and equally opposed to political corruption; while their followers were for the most part hard-working men, who sincerely believed that the free coinage of silver would put the poor and the rich on a more equal footing.

Thus the campaign assumed, as it went on, an extraordinary character. It was not a contest of Republicans with Democrats. It was a warfare of classes. The poor were arrayed against the rich, the friends of vested interests against those who did not regard the rights of property as sacred, the supporters of the gold standard against those who wished to abolish it. And though the campaign did not call forth personal abuse, like that of 1884, it roused the most intense and widespread interest. Both parties were confident, and

yet the issues were so important that neither party was free from anxiety. Tremendous efforts were made on both sides to reach and influence voters. Tracts upon financial questions were circulated by the million. The land resounded with arguments for or against the free coinage of silver. But, as the months passed, the Republicans became more and more confident of success, and the event justified their anticipations. For Mr. McKinley received a majority of nearly a million in the popular vote, and 277 electoral votes against 132 given to Mr. Bryan. So the security of the gold standard was established for at least four years, and business began at once to revive.

President McKinley's inaugural address was read with eager interest, for there was a general uncertainty as to the position he would take upon the Cuban question. To the relief of sober-thinking people throughout the country, he recommended that the policy of non-intervention be continued; and Congress therefore turned its attention, not to martial matters, but to financial questions. But, although the Republican party stood pledged to currency reform,[1] it was the tariff that was made the subject of new legislation. A new tariff bill was prepared under the supervision of Mr. Dingley, the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, and was passed by the House on March 31, 1897; and in a somewhat modified form by the Senate on the 7th of the following July. Though it differed in many particulars from the McKinley Bill of 1890, its general character was the same, its object being to give ample protection to American industries. Wool and other raw materials were taken off the free list, and the scale of duties was made so high that the volume of imports

[1] This pledge was ultimately redeemed; for in his annual message, read on December 5, 1899, President McKinley recommended that the gold standard be made secure by appropriate legislation, and bills to accomplish that end were accordingly introduced into the House and the Senate. The Senate bill differed materially from that of the House in the provisions it made for refunding the national debt; but each bill recognized the gold dollar as the unit of value; declared that all forms of United States money must be maintained at a parity with it; and empowered the Secretary of the Treasury to sell bonds whenever necessary in order to maintain the gold reserve. The House bill was passed on December 18, 1899, and the Senate bill on February 15, 1900. The two measures were brought into harmony by a joint committee, and the amended bill was signed by the President on March 14, 1900.

was in consequence diminished, and the national revenues were not swelled as was expected by the advocates of Mr. Dingley's measure. Appropriations were increased by Congress rather than curtailed, and it seemed probable that the national treasury would still have to meet an annual deficit. But before the merits of the Dingley Bill as a producer of revenue were fairly settled,[1] the thoughts of the country were turned away from purely financial questions by the danger of a war with Spain.

In his annual message to Congress in December, 1897, President McKinley showed himself still opposed to active interference in Cuban affairs; but the sufferings caused by General Weyler's policy of concentration roused the deep indignation of the American people, and led many members of Congress to demand that the United States should give armed assistance to the Cuban insurgents. This demand President McKinley resisted for a time; but on the night of February 15, 1898, the United States battleship *Maine* was blown up and destroyed in the harbor of Havana, and after this the war party in Congress gained greatly in aggressiveness and strength. That the Spanish authorities at Havana were responsible for the destruction of the *Maine* was never proved; but a large portion of the American people believed that this nefarious deed was done with their cognizance and sanction, and fiercer and fiercer grew their resentment toward the Spanish nation. Under the influence of this feeling the two Houses of Congress passed joint resolutions on April 19, demanding that Spain should withdraw at once from Cuba, and empowering the President to use the land and naval forces of the United States to carry this resolution into effect. But before these resolutions could be delivered, the Spanish Government broke off diplomatic relations with the United States and gave the American minister his passport. At the same time the Spanish Minister left Washington. As this meant that Spain preferred war rather than grant the demands of the United States, the President, on April 21, issued orders to blockade Havana.

But Spain was in no condition to oppose so formidable a power as the United States. Her treasury was depleted, her credit gone, her navies ill manned, her strategy inadequate.

[1] With the growth of prosperity and the expansion of commerce the Dingley Bill proved to be a good revenue producer.

The war, consequently, was of short duration, though it was not ended until some bloody battles had been fought. On May 1 Admiral Dewey destroyed in Manila Bay the Spanish fleet that was stationed there to protect the Philippine Islands; and on July 3 the squadrons of Admirals Schley and Sampson annihilated the ships of Admiral Cervera near Santiago. Only eleven days later the city of Santiago was forced to surrender to General Shafter, who commanded the United States forces in front of the city, and Spanish resistance came to an end. A truce was declared on August 12, and the terms of peace were settled at Paris by a commission of Spaniards and Americans. Spain's representatives contended long and stubbornly against America's demands, which included the surrender of Porto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines; but the American commissioners would make no concessions beyond allowing Spain an indemnity of $20,000,000 for the Philippines, and agreeing that for five years Spanish goods should be received in these islands on equal terms with those of the United States. To these terms the Spanish commissioners were obliged to consent; and the treaty, as it was arranged at Paris, was finally ratified both by Spain and the United States.

But it was easier for the latter country to ratify the treaty than to carry its provisions into effect. What was the United States to do with the islands of which it now had the disposal? The war had been undertaken, so at least its heartiest advocates claimed, for freedom and humanity. It would therefore seem the fitting course to see that the Spaniards evacuated the islands they had fortified, and that the islands themselves were given over to their own inhabitants. But such a course was pronounced difficult, and indeed impossible, by a majority in Congress and by a large number of American citizens. Even in Cuba, which the Spanish were required to evacuate by January 1, 1899, the situation was difficult. The island was put under a military government by the United States, and reaped great and immediate benefits from this régime. But how long this form of government would be necessary and what disposal would ultimately be made of the island, no one could say. For a desire to annex it found wide expression in the United States.

Still more troublesome was the condition of affairs in the Philippines. To give these islands over to the Filipinos, it

was stoutly asserted, would only bring disaster; for the islanders were incapable of establishing a stable government and giving due protection to commerce and trade. Hence the United States was in duty bound to rule the Philippines until their inhabitants had acquired the art of self-government and shown themselves fit to manage their own affairs. That these assertions were well founded may be questioned. They involve the fallacy that none but highly civilized peoples can take care of themselves. And that this is a fallacy is shown by history. For few civilized countries have anything that even approximates to perfect government; and the most uncivilized peoples do not usually deteriorate until they come in contact with civilization. But with such ideas as these neither the Government nor the war party in the country was in sympathy. Almost before the war with Spain was concluded, the cry for imperialism and annexation was heard; and on June 15, 1898, the House voted to annex the Hawaiian Islands, the Senate concurring on the 5th of July following. Thus the appetite for new territory was created, and, once created, it rapidly increased. When it was found that the terms of peace were to include the surrender of the Philippines, there grew up a widespread desire to make them a United States possession. To this desire President McKinley partially acceded; and the troops that had been sent to the islands after Dewey's victory were kept there and put to the unpleasant task of making the authority of the United States everywhere recognized.

An unpleasant task it certainly proved and a difficult one as well. Aguinaldo, a brave and capable leader of the islanders when they were in rebellion against Spain, wished to put himself at the head of a native government, and was unwilling to see the islands pass under foreign control. He therefore resisted the troops of the United States; and his soldiers showed such courage that they were only defeated after severe fighting in which they suffered heavy losses. Nor were they at once brought into subjection even by defeat; for, driven from one stronghold, they found it easy to withdraw into the wilderness and make a further stand. Hence the closing years of the century found the United States engaged in a troublesome guerilla warfare which seemed to resemble those wearing conflicts so frequently waged by Spain in her far-away colonial possessions.

Nor was it easy to say how the islands should be governed after they were conquered. Whether, indeed, the Constitution gives warrant for annexing and ruling distant countries has been earnestly discussed, but without satisfactory conclusion; for the friends and the enemies of national expansion each hold that the Constitution supports their view.[1] In the very nature of things there must be profound and irreconcilable difference over such an important question, just as there has been fundamental disagreement in regard to the powers of the central Government ever since the Constitution was adopted. Neither argument nor experience will ever heal such dissensions, for they spring from that freedom of thought and expression that belongs to a great democracy. It is only to be hoped that through the clash of opposing views the nation may be saved from irremediable error.

So intense was the interest in the war and afterward in the question of annexation and expansion, that other matters failed to attract the attention they deserved. Even the War Revenue Act, which was passed by Congress on June 9, 1898, did not arouse serious and prolonged discussion. For the people of the country, knowing that the wealth of the nation was almost unlimited, submitted without murmuring to stamp duties and a number of internal revenue taxes which were made necessary by the heavy expenses of the war. A loan not to exceed $400,000,000 was also authorized by Congress, and three per cent bonds to the amount of $200,000,000 were issued by the national treasury and immediately taken by the people of the country. That the loan was needed was soon made apparent; for even the increased revenues of the Government did not suffice to defray the national expenses after the war began. And though all had supposed that the need of extra taxation would pass with the establishment of peace, the policy of annexation proved too costly to allow the national revenues to be curtailed. So many troops were kept in Cuba and the Philippines, that the expenses of the nation were put upon a war basis for an indefinite period, and the prospect of removing the war taxes grew remote.

[1] The *American Law Review* for March and April, 1899, discusses the constitutional aspect of expansion and imperialism; but the literature bearing upon the subject has become so extensive and is so rapidly growing as to defy mention.

But the people of the country seemed to bear their financial burdens with entire ease; for soon after the close of the war with Spain a period of great prosperity began. So extensive was the demand for American cereals and manufactures that exports exceeded imports and there was a steady flow of gold into the country. The stock of gold in the treasury increased until it amounted to more than a quarter of a billion of dollars, and all fears of a change in the standard of value were allayed. With this condition of affairs came a revival of business confidence, a buoyant stock market, and great industrial and commercial activity. Mills and factories were busy, new enterprises were promoted, and wages were increased. But this very prosperity was detrimental to the cause of currency reform; for it blinded the eyes of the many to the defects of the monetary system of the country. Only financial experts were alive to the need of new fiscal legislation; Congress made no effort to supply a satisfactory circulating medium. The greenbacks were not retired, and the national bank-notes did not pass freely into the country districts where they were greatly needed.

Prosperity and national expansion also diverted attention from important attempts at arbitration. Great Britain had showed so friendly an attitude toward the United States during the war with Spain, that English-speaking people the world over felt strongly their common kinship and were inclined to adjust all differences in an amicable way. It was owing to this state of feeling that a Joint Anglo-American Commission was appointed in 1898 by the American, Canadian, and British Governments to consider all matters of dispute between Canada and the United States, and settle these differences, if possible, by mutual concessions. The subjects to be discussed were: —

The Bering Sea Sealing Question.
Reciprocal Mining Regulations.
The Alaskan Boundary.
The Preservation of the Fisheries in the Great Lakes.
The North Atlantic Fishery Question.
Alien Labor Laws.
Reciprocity of Trade.

The Commission met at Quebec on August 23, 1898, and,

after sitting till October 8, adjourned to meet again in Washington on the first day of the following November. This second session was prolonged for several months, but was almost entirely barren of results. Reciprocity proved a troublesome cause of disagreement, for large private and corporate interests were opposed to those concessions by which alone there could be a free interchange of products between Canada and the United States; but the rock on which the Commission split was the Alaskan boundary question. After the discovery of gold in the Klondike region, Canada became desirous of acquiring a port on the Pacific in the far North that would assist the transportation of mining products and bring supplies as near as possible to the mining districts. Accordingly, the British and Canadian members of the Commission attempted to prove that the boundary between Alaska and British Columbia, when correctly established, gave Canada access to the ocean. But this claim seemed to be utterly without historic basis, and encountered the most uncompromising resistance from America's representatives.

It was unfortunate that these differences of opinion proved irreconcilable, and that so praiseworthy an attempt at international arbitration should have met with scant success. Ever since the War of 1812 America and England have settled their disputes by peaceable conference, and one troublesome problem after another has been solved without a sacrifice of friendly relations. The Maine boundary was arranged by diplomacy in 1842; Oregon was secured to the United States in a similar manner in 1846; in 1872 the Alabama claims were settled by arbitration, and the Island of San Juan was awarded to the United States by the Emperor of Germany, — occurrences which were mentioned with hearty approval by President Grant in his annual message to Congress; the rights of Americans in the Canadian fisheries were determined, adversely to the United States, in 1877; the Bering Sea sealing question was submitted to arbitration in 1894, and the Venezuela boundary dispute in 1896. It is to be hoped, therefore, that continued negotiations will adjust the differences between Canada and the United States, and will add to these triumphs of diplomacy and arbitration.

Much more serious than this temporary failure to come to an

agreement with Canada was the injury done to the cause of civil service reform in 1899. Ever since Garfield's death in 1881 the tendency of the Presidents has been to widen the application of the civil service rules; but President McKinley saw fit to adopt a different policy. There was, indeed, good reason why confidential clerks, and officers and deputies whose duties were largely of a personal character, should be appointed by their immediate superiors rather than by the Civil Service Commission. But by orders issued on May 29, 1899, President McKinley withdrew an unwarrantably large number of officers from the application of the civil service rules, and so far gave encouragement to the spoilsmen and place-hunters. According to statements made by the National Civil Service Reform League, the number of offices thus removed from the classified service was not below four thousand, as was claimed by the President and his friends, but upward of ten thousand; and thus an exceedingly bad precedent had been established. For if succeeding executives should imitate President McKinley's action, the reform that had made such gratifying progress would suffer irretrievable disaster. To thoughtful citizens this failure to maintain the highest standards of efficiency in the civil service has an important bearing upon the question of national expansion. The attempt to govern distant countries, separated from the Republic by thousands of miles of sea, is at best a hazardous one. It can be made thoroughly successful only by securing for all branches of the government service men of integrity and proved ability. If the control of these distant territories falls into the hands of political adventurers who are rewarded with office because of their devotion to the party in power, the most unfortunate consequences must follow. For in that case, instead of setting so-called inferior peoples an example of good government, the Republic would only invite their just and indignant censure.

And that the danger is a real one can hardly be denied. By the elections of 1899 the people of the nation indorsed the administration of President McKinley. It was therefore practically settled that the Philippines, and perhaps Cuba and Porto Rico also, should become a permanent part of the territory of the United States. And undoubtedly this action of

the people was based upon honest conviction. The Republic has stood for free and honest government; naturally, therefore, its citizens believe that it can extend to less highly developed countries a pure and enlightened rule. But they ignore the intensely practical and self-satisfied character of the Anglo-Saxon mind. Unquestionably humane, the Anglo-Saxon forgets his humanity in the absorbing struggle for self-advancement. Moral sentiment was lost sight of when the United States craved the lands of the native Indians. It may be lost sight of again as the task of ruling distant islands taxes the nation's energies through a long series of years. To-day it is proposed to give the islands a just and enlightened government; to-morrow the cry may be that any American is good enough to govern a Filipino. And if that attitude of cynicism is once assumed, America's government of "inferior" peoples is likely to be a story of dishonor.

It is with mixed feelings, therefore, that the thoughtful American views his country's past and looks forward to its future. The Republic of the United States has now existed for over a century. Originally one of the feeblest of nations, it is now one of the most powerful. No European country except Russia surpasses it in population; in wealth it is equalled by no country in the world. And its beneficent gifts to humanity are commensurate with its greatness. It has provided a home for the struggling and oppressed. It has given all its citizens opportunity to rise. It has shown that a pure democracy secures the greatest good to the greatest number. In no other country in the world, assuredly, do so large a proportion of the people live in comfort and contentment. But the Republic, with all its prosperity, has encountered grave dangers in the past; it may encounter still graver dangers in the future. Even now it exemplifies the truth of this utterance, "Every democracy the world has ever known has exhibited two dangerous tendencies, one to materialism, and the other to tyranny by the majority."[1] Materialism does indeed threaten the United States. The riches of the country have increased enormously during the last quarter of a century, and with their increase has come arrogance, luxury, and undue valuation of sensuous and material pleasures. And the very growth of

[1] From an address by President Eliot of Harvard University.

these things has wrought a cleavage in the social life of the nation. The poor man has learned to view the rich man as his enemy. Hence, the many, prejudiced, resentful, communistic, and aggressive, are banded against the few; and the few, to render an unequal combat equal, use their vast wealth to make parties and legislatures do their bidding. And so political purity is ground between the upper and nether millstones. The rule of the majority means the tyranny of crude and undisciplined minds; while the rule of the few means the tyranny of insensate and insatiate greed. Moreover, the many and the few sometimes combine, and the unprincipled demagogue, with vast wealth at his command, becomes the vicious leader of a horde of obsequious henchmen. From such unholy alliances arise corruption in cities, unsound legislation, subservience to party, neglect of public welfare, and a whole train of political evils which vitiate the life of the nation.

Accordingly, the patriotic citizen of America cannot afford to become self-complacent or inactive. In spite of its defects he may reasonably regard his country as the best to live in in the world; but he has also to see that he can only keep it so by untiring and strenuous endeavor. Great, therefore, is the responsibility that rests upon the American people. A great democracy could hardly be built upon better foundations than have been laid in the United States, and the failure of the Republic would be a disastrous blow to the cause of constitutional liberty. It is for the patriots of the land to prevent such a calamity, and "highly resolve that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

BOOK IV

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE AMERICA

MEXICO

CENTRAL AMERICA

- Guatemala
- Honduras
- Salvador
- Nicaragua
- Costa Rica

SOUTH AMERICA

- The Argentine Republic
- Bolivia
- Brazil
- Chili
- Colombia
- Ecuador
- Paraguay
- Peru
- Uruguay
- Venezuela

CHAPTER I

MEXICO

Conquered by Fernando Cortez in 1521, Mexico remained subject to Spain for just three hundred years. But Spanish rule was as harsh and oppressive abroad as it was narrow and unprogressive at home. It was bitterly hated in all the Spanish Colonies, for it brought the colonists little besides persecution. The Mexicans found it galling in the extreme, and if they submitted to it patiently, it was only from a sense of their own powerlessness. Awed by the soldiery, they could not resent abuses. The natives were enslaved, the mines were worked for the Spanish Government, education was kept in the hands of the priests, and the viceroys were usually broken-down courtiers who took no interest in the land they ruled. Even the industries natural to the country were stifled if they could by any possibility rival those of Spain. The Mexicans were forbidden to cultivate the vine, the olive, the mulberry, and fibre-yielding plants; for these things were produced in the mother-country. They could not raise sheep lest they should injure the Spanish wool grower; and they were prohibited from manufacturing any articles that were fashioned in Spain.

It was not strange, then, that the dawn of the nineteenth century found Mexico in a ferment of discontent. But the hatred of the people was not directed chiefly against the Spanish Government. What the Mexicans desired was not so much independence of Spain as freedom from caste distinctions which allowed prosperity and comfort only to a privileged few. Three classes there were who prospered under the rule of Spain: the priests, the gachupins, or native Spaniards, and the army. To these alone a free, easy, and comfortable existence was possible. The wealth of the country, the emoluments of office, and the

honors of social leadership belonged exclusively to the members of these three orders; all others were kept in ignorance and poverty and deprived of political rights. So the outbreak that came in 1810[1] was primarily a protest against an intolerable class rule, and against the movement were arrayed, not merely the army, as representing the Spanish Government, but the Church and the aristocracy as well. The possessors of wealth and privilege had no mind to lose their preëminence in the country.

The leader of the revolution of 1810 was a parish priest, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, who has been termed the Father of Mexican Independence. In spite of the fact that the army, the Church, and the gachupins were against him, he gained some important victories. Had he shown greater energy at some critical moments, he might possibly have brought the revolution to a speedy and successful termination; but he was eventually defeated and captured, and on July 30, 1811, he was shot with other leaders of the movement. His place was taken by José Maria Morelos, who resembled Hidalgo, not merely in being a priest, but in having a like career and meeting the same fate. He was shot toward the end of December, 1815. Other leaders who came forward to head the movement for independence had no better success, and an interminable warfare seemed to be in prospect. For Spain could not crush the people into absolute submission, and no more could the Mexicans drive the Spaniards out of the country.

But in 1820 political occurrences in Spain gave a new complexion to the Mexican revolution. In that year the Spanish army proclaimed the liberal Constitution of 1812, and the gachupins were filled with alarm lest the same movement should spread in Mexico and deprive them of their ascendency. If Spain could adopt a liberal Constitution, Mexico might follow her example. They considered it wise, therefore, to head the revolution themselves, and turn it to their own advantage. Augustin de Iturbide, the son of a Spaniard by a Mexican mother, willingly consented to lead them, and succeeded in winning the confidence of Guerrero, at that time the leader of the revolutionary army. So the popular and aristocratic elements of the country were now united, and were too

[1] It was on September 16 that the first uprising occurred.

strong for the forces of the Spanish Government. The independence of Mexico was secured in 1821, but independence did not at once bring the triumph of liberal principles and the establishment of a republican form of government. It was through the aristocracy that the revolution was successful, and the aristocracy now controlled the situation. Ferdinand VII., whose Spanish subjects were discontented under his rule, was invited to become King of Mexico, and the Catholic religion was recognized as of sole authority in the State. But though a treaty embodying this arrangement was signed by General O'Donoju, the last viceroy of Mexico, Spain naturally refused to ratify it. So the aristocracy, unable to establish a monarchy, determined to create an empire. Still accepting the leadership of Iturbide, they crowned him Emperor on June 21, 1822.

But the Conservatives and the Church could not retain their ascendency. The men who for ten years had been struggling to free Mexico from Spain were not disposed to sit quietly under the rule of an oligarchy. Seeing that the empire did not give them the freedom they had been fighting for, they turned against it and overthrew Iturbide, after he had reigned about ten months. And now the Liberals, having gained control of affairs, determined to establish a liberal form of government. They took the Constitution of the United States as their model, arbitrarily divided the country into sections called states, and made it a Republic. The Constitution upon which the new government was based was proclaimed on October 4, 1824.

But Mexico had had no experience in self-government, and was not ready for republican institutions. For three centuries her people had been under an absolute sway. The duties of citizenship they did not understand and were by no means anxious to discharge. Hence the new order of things did not bring peace and prosperity to the country. On the contrary, it brought the Liberals into sharp conflict with the Church party and the Conservatives, and for a long term of years the unhappy land was the scene of disorder and of petty revolutions. Settled government was impossible. Adventurers profited by the unceasing strife of parties, and, as presidents or dictators, succeeded each other with astonishing rapidity. The man with the strongest following overcame his rivals and

ruled until he was driven from power by some new aspirant for the honors and emoluments of office.

Naturally the Liberal cause was weakened by this condition of affairs. As one adventurer followed another and constitutional government appeared to exist only in name, the Church party regained its ascendency. Seeing its opponents disorganized and disunited, it secured the overthrow of the Republic by the assistance of Santa Anna, the most notorious of all the Mexican adventurers of this period. Without political principles or fixed party ties, he was always ready to unite with any cause that promised to be successful. So he did not now hesitate to ally himself with the Churchmen, although he had joined in the movement against Iturbide and had helped to establish the Republic in 1824. But, unscrupulous though he was, he was not without ability. The Churchmen found him a useful tool, and, having overcome opposition, they proclaimed a new Constitution on December 29, 1836. But as this was still too liberal for them, they issued a more conservative one on June 13, 1843.

Thus the Liberals lost for a time the control of affairs, which they had kept imperfectly for about ten years. But the Church party did not long remain in power. The wealth and the aristocracy of the country were at its service, but it could not prevent the growth of liberal ideas. For, during the long period of anarchy and turbulence that succeeded the overthrow of Spanish tyranny, the nation was gradually gaining the power of self-government. For a long time, indeed, the gain was more apparent than real. The masses were ignorant; the priesthood and the aristocracy resisted progress; the workings of constitutional government were but slightly understood. So revolution followed revolution, and it seemed as if it were impossible to establish the reign of order and law. But through those trying years of change and violence the country was preparing to break away from the intolerant rule of the priests and the aristocracy. That rule they set aside when Iturbide was overthrown in 1822; they set it aside again in 1847, only four years after the Conservatives had adopted their new Constitution and arranged matters entirely to their liking. But this was the burning period of foreign war and national humiliation. The United States picked a quarrel with Mexico to

further an unjust cause, and wrested from the country two fifths of its territory (p. 409). Had the nation been strongly and efficiently governed, it might have made a more determined resistance to its invaders. As it was, the Mexican soldiers could do nothing but fight gallantly and suffer defeat. For in a war that lasted only sixteen months the administration changed hands several times; so a vigorous and consistent war policy was rendered impossible. Thoroughly vanquished, the nation sadly submitted to the conditions imposed by its conquerors, and was once more given over to civil discord.

And for some years there was no perceptible improvement in its condition. Fresh revolutions came, but, as formerly, they brought change without bringing progress. Sometimes, indeed, the course of events was backward. In 1853 Santa Anna came once more to the front, and, supported by the Church party, made himself master of the country and ruled in the interests of the priests and the aristocracy. But the Liberals drove him out of the country in 1855, and with their fresh accession to power began a new and more promising era. For federal government was again established; a Liberal leader, General Alvarez, was made President, and under him a statesman of remarkable ability came forward to lead the nation. Benito Juarez, a full-blooded Indian of the Zapoteca tribe, was born March 21, 1806. He gained a knowledge of Spanish and the rudiments of education from a priest, who, finding the boy gifted with a remarkable mind, had him placed in an ecclesiastical seminary and trained for the priesthood. But the youth preferred politics to the Church. He became a lawyer, attracted notice by his professional skill, and held various political offices. Upright, fearless, and unselfish, he became one of the ablest and most trusted leaders of the Liberal party. Alvarez, on being made provisional President, appointed him Secretary of Justice, and it was in this official position that he began his famous war upon the priesthood which ended in their complete political overthrow. His first step was to take from the clergy their political privileges, which entitled them to be tried for all offences in special courts composed of members of their own order, and thus to violate law without being brought to justice. For no priests were ever willing to find a fellow-priest guilty.

The law by which this privilege was abolished was issued on November 23, 1855, while Alvarez was still President. But on the 12th of the following December Alvarez was succeeded by General Ignacio Comonfort, a remarkable man, who at first upheld Juarez in his war upon the Church. On June 2, 1856, he issued a law which forbade corporations to hold land; and, as the Church was the only corporation then existing in Mexico, it was obliged to sell its real estate. This law and that of Juarez were so unwelcome to the clergy that they fomented insurrections against the Government; but these outbreaks Comonfort suppressed with a vigorous hand. He did not, however, long continue loyal to the Constitution he had helped establish. The Constitution was adopted on February 5, 1857, and in December of the same year Comonfort went over to the Church party and threw Juarez into prison. Soon realizing that he had made a serious error and had increased instead of quieting civil discord, he tried to remedy his mistake. He released Juarez and did his utmost to put down the rebellious Church party; but his change of heart came too late. Baffled on every hand, he sailed from the country on February 7, 1858, and left Juarez to continue the struggle against the triumphant Churchmen.

But the Churchmen did not long continue triumphant. On July 12 and 13, 1859, Juarez gained a decided advantage over them by confiscating the Church property and abolishing religious orders. True, the capital and most of the larger cities were in the hands of the Church party, and the Liberal forces, which were for a time outnumbered, at first suffered many defeats. But Juarez, single-minded in his devotion to liberal principles, did not for a moment lose heart. He made Vera Cruz his capital, established there a constitutional government, and finally succeeded in routing his opponents at the battle of Calpulálpan on December 22, 1860. Though civil war was still continued, Juarez was now strong enough to order a general election; and in March, 1861, he was formally chosen President. But great difficulties faced him. The treasury was empty, and the Government, unable to meet its financial obligations, suspended the payment of interest to its foreign bondholders for two years. The foreigners residing in Mexico were also treated with indignity, and

the French, English, and Spanish Governments felt called upon to interfere in behalf of their subjects. Accordingly, Mexico was invaded by Spanish troops in December, 1861, and an army from France and a naval force from England soon arrived to enforce the demands of these powers. But England and Spain soon made satisfactory terms with Mexico and withdrew their forces; France, misguided by Louis Napoleon's ambition, continued the struggle alone. Her well-disciplined troops proved too formidable for the poorly trained forces of Juarez. The City of Mexico fell into their hands in June, 1863, and, through the machinations of Napoleon, Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, was proclaimed Emperor.

But Juarez did not give up the struggle. Undaunted by the triumph of the imperialist cause, he maintained a republican government in the northern part of the country, encouraged the Mexicans to cling fast to their independence, and, though forced at one time to flee into Texas, did not abandon hope. And, even when his prospects were darkest, his triumph came. Released from the strain of civil war, the United States Government urged Napoleon to withdraw his forces from Mexico. The French Emperor complied, and Maximilian, left to himself, was unable to cope with Juarez. Captured by treachery, he was shot on June 19, 1867. Ever ready to face emergencies and assume responsibility, Juarez now usurped authority for a time, as his presidential term had expired; but he was reelected in August, 1867, and again in 1871, and in the few brief years that remained to him he endeavored to crush insurrection, unite the country, and carry out reforms. But he died suddenly at Mexico on July 18, 1872.

More than half a century had now passed since Mexico gained her independence in 1821, and settled peace and prosperity had not yet visited the nation. Even so able a man as Juarez had not succeeded in ending civil dissension, for at the time of his death rebellion was still active. Yet the country had learned much in fifty years of turbulence and discord. It had shaken off the rule of the priesthood; it was weary of revolutions, and eager for the unbroken reign of law and order. Though the people were not yet ready to govern themselves, they were ready to welcome the strong man, who, preserving the forms of constitutionalism, would make his rule thoroughly

respected and govern in the interests of the nation. And such a man appeared, to carry on the work which Juarez had begun but had not completed. For among the very men who resisted the authority of Juarez by armed force was Porfirio Diaz, who, from being an unsuccessful leader of insurrection, became the honored and undisputed head of the nation. Not that he came into power immediately after the death of Juarez. Lerdo de Tejada was elected President in August, 1872, and for a time Diaz submitted to his rule. But Lerdo, though an estimable man, could not keep the nation tranquil. Signs of discord were soon apparent, and Diaz, acting not as an adventurer but as a patriot, once more drew the sword of rebellion. His first attack upon the Government was made in March, 1876. Before a year had passed he had made himself master of the country, having forced Lerdo to retire, and defeated Iglesias, who assumed the presidency after Lerdo's downfall. On February 18, 1877, Diaz was elected President of the Republic of Mexico.

Born on September 15, 1830, he was now in the full vigor of his powers. By the force of circumstances he had led the life of an adventurer, for he had been engaged in many wars and revolutions, and had met with several hairbreadth escapes; but he was not an adventurer at heart. Possessing the breadth of a statesman and the decision of a born leader of men, he now devoted all his energies to securing an era of tranquillity and progress for his country. And his efforts were thoroughly successful. After holding his office for over three years and establishing order, he was succeeded by his friend, Manuel Gonzalez; for the Constitution did not then allow a President to be reëlected. But this law was changed. Successive reëlections were made legal; and Diaz, becoming President again in 1884, held the office uninterruptedly for four terms.

It is impossible to recount in a brief space all the reforms that have been accomplished by this remarkable man. The law was made supreme throughout the land, and brigandage disappeared. The public service was made efficient and scrupulously clean. Railroad building was encouraged by government subsidies, and the country now has more than forty railroads, and nearly seven thousand miles of track. The telegraph and telephone systems have also received the attention of

the Government, which has controlled the rates and required efficient service. Educational progress has been slow, for ignorance and illiteracy were general; but for a time the Government aided the municipalities in this work by a grant of $1,000,000 a year, and in July, 1896, it took the schools under its charge in order to secure commonness of aim and method. Many hospitals have been built, and the sanitary condition of the cities has been greatly improved by the construction of drains and sewers.

As these changes have taken place, trade and commerce have grown active and the country has become prosperous. For its natural riches are great, and foreign capital began to flow into it when the rights of property were made secure. Many of the mines of Mexico are worked by English and American companies, and cotton mills and other factories are being erected both by native and foreign capitalists. Already the country would seem to have fulfilled the expectations expressed by one of its own citizens soon after Maximilian's downfall: "Within a brief period we shall hold our elections for the functionaries to be chosen by the people, and we shall then enter again into our constitutional existence, somewhat interrupted by the French intervention. Our policy will then be to enforce our laws, which will allow the free exercise of all religions and give no preference to any, which provide a perfect separation between Church and State; to establish a system of free schools which will educate the masses of our people, and make them productive and happy; to encourage the immigration of peaceable and laboring citizens of the United States, which will assist us in developing our resources; to invite the investment of the surplus capital of the United States in Mexican enterprises, and to look up to this privileged country as our eldest sister, affording us an example worthy of imitation."[1]

Portions of Mexico which are particularly rich and have been well developed are among the richest and most productive spots in the world. If revolutionary disturbances can be prevented, there would seem to be no limit to Mexico's future

[1] The quotation is from a speech delivered by Señor Matias Romero at a banquet tendered him at New York on October 2, 1867. The speech is given in full in Señor Romero's work, "Mexico and the United States."

growth and development. And that revolutions will be prevented there is good reason to believe. For the country cannot forget that it has had a statesmanlike and progressive rule for nearly a generation. During that time it has had ample opportunity to learn that nothing makes a country so prosperous as the unbroken reign of law and order. The Mexicans have been forced to see that the rule of Diaz fostered industry, promoted all manner of commercial enterprises, brought foreign capital into the country, and bound it to the great neighbor Republic by close and substantial ties. That these lessons of a prosperous era will be forgotten, it is hard to believe. Mexico may not for generations produce another statesman like Diaz, for Diaz is one of the great men of the nineteenth century. But if it accepts his administration as its standard of government, it cannot readily tolerate corrupt and inefficient rule.

Mexico is a federative republic, consisting of twenty-seven States, two Territories and a Federal District. Each State has its own Constitution; its own governor and legislature, popularly elected; and the right to manage its own local affairs. But these States are bound together into one body politic by a national Constitution, which provides for the three branches of government, the executive, the legislative, and the judiciary. The President is chosen indirectly for four years by a special body of electors who are voted for by the people. There are two legislative Houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives; the members of the former House are chosen for six years, and those of the latter for two. The suffrage belongs to all male adults of respectable character. There are three classes of federal courts; the Supreme Court, the circuit courts, and the district courts. In its judicial system, as in many of its constitutional arrangements, Mexico imitates the United States; but, in imitating, it has taken the form without the spirit. For Mexican legal processes are based upon the Roman Code, and differ radically from those of the United States or England. Trial by jury exists, but a majority verdict is sufficient for conviction or acquittal.[1]

[1] Romero's "Mexico and the United States" contains an interesting chapter on Mexican courts and legal methods. The writer contends that the Mexican judicial system convicts criminals and protects society better than that of the United States.

The prevailing religion is the Roman Catholic; but there is no State Church, and entire freedom of worship is allowed. Education is free and compulsory in nearly all the States; but the law is not strictly enforced, and illiteracy is common.

Mexico has an area of 767,005 square miles, and a population of about 13,000,000.

CHAPTER II

CENTRAL AMERICA

Central America, which includes the territory lying between the southern boundary of Mexico and the Isthmus of Panama, passed under the control of Spain early in the sixteenth century. In those days of conquest and adventure, rival Spanish commanders contended for supremacy in this wild and mountainous country, which became a veritable "dark and bloody ground." For not only did many Spaniards perish in these conflicts, but hundreds of thousands of the Indians, who were put to slavery and treated with great cruelty, were ruthlessly sacrificed. But these petty wars of ambitious soldiers were brought to an end by the Spanish Government, which, soon after Cortez' famous journey into Honduras in 1525, constituted Central America and a portion of southern Mexico into the Captain-Generalship of Guatemala. Becoming thus one of the nine provinces into which the Spanish possessions in Central America were divided, Central America had an uneventful history for nearly three hundred years. It received little attention from Spain; its resources were not developed; and so scant was its population, apart from the native Indians, that no body of soldiery was maintained within its borders.

Accordingly, the resident Spanish officials were ill prepared to resist the revolutionary movement, which, inaugurated both in Mexico and in South America in 1810, spread in time into the intervening province of Guatemala. Though the struggle for independence was elsewhere long and desperate, in Guatemala the revolution was effected without bloodshed. Not until the rebellion to the north and south of them seemed sure to succeed, did the people of Central America declare against the Spanish Government; and accordingly,

when they took the step, the Captain-General and his followers had no course open to them but flight.

But, though relieved from the rule of Spain, Central America did not at once obtain a free and separate existence. Annexed by Mexico in spite of the emphatic protests of nearly all the provinces, it made a portion of Iturbide's unstable and short-lived empire. But when Mexico became a republic in 1823, the Central American provinces, with the exception of the district of Chiapas (which still forms the southernmost province of Mexico), succeeded in establishing their independence. Driving out the Mexican officials, the provinces attempted to set up their own government. But this task they found arduous and perplexing. The province of Guatemala, as constituted by Spain, had been divided into several intendancies, but these intendancies, now that they had acquired their independence, were not disposed to become sovereign states. As they had formerly been under the rule of one captain-general, they felt that they should now properly belong to one federation, and thus attain to national power and dignity. Moreover, they had the example of the United States to inspire them with the desire of forming one united country. But federation, as a means of combining separate states into a nation, was still an experiment. Even in the case of the American Union the result of the experiment was still uncertain, and in Central America there existed even greater obstacles to the success of a federative movement. The intendancies were separated by high mountains and dense forests; they bordered upon two different oceans; and their people were for the most part uneducated and excitable, and easily swayed by savage emotions.

In spite of these adverse conditions, the feeling in behalf of union was strong and widespread. There existed two political parties in Central America, the Liberals and the Serviles, and the members of the former were ardently in favor of uniting all Central America into one republic. The Liberals were the party of the people; they were alert, active, and, considering how few of them were well educated, remarkably broad and progressive. Could they have labored under more favorable circumstances, they might have established an enlightened and enduring nation. Certainly their efforts in this direction are worthy of all praise, and their struggles, even though hope-

less from the first, deserve more sympathy and consideration than is usually given them by the student of political history. Espousing the cause of republicanism when they had almost everything against them, the Liberals of Central America fought, suffered, and died for their country, kept the Federation alive when it seemed to have hopelessly perished, and remained true to their political ideals amid persecution, danger, and exile. Even in failing they yet succeeded, for they showed that there must be a future for a country which developed men of such sterling and unquenchable patriotism.

Owing to the unhappy political condition of the Central American peoples, the Liberals, as has been already suggested, encountered enough to make them fail; but the greatest obstacle to their success lay in the character of their political opponents. For the Serviles were as unscrupulous as they were bigoted and narrow. Representing the aristocracy and the priesthood, clinging fast to wealth and privilege and bitterly opposed to the rule of the majority, these men were determined to defeat the republican movement by any means, fair or foul. Accordingly, they used bribery, intrigue, and broken faith in the political arena, and on the field of battle they were treacherous and cruel. That the Liberals themselves were always liberal, clean-handed, and merciful can by no means be asserted; but in the long conflicts between the friends and the enemies of the Federation it was the Serviles who were guilty of the worst atrocities and violations of faith.[1]

It was not under promising auspices, therefore, that a single sovereign state was formed out of the different intendancies in 1823. The new state was designated the Republic of Central America, and Guatemala, the chief city of the intendancy of Guatemala, was selected as its capital. The Constituent Assembly, which founded the Republic, adopted, after a long debate and fierce opposition from the Serviles, an extremely liberal Constitution, by which the right of *habeas corpus*, the liberty of the press, representative government, and the abolition of slavery were secured. This Constitution, first published on December 27, 1823, was decreed on November 22, 1824; and, in accordance with its provisions, the Representatives of the new Republic assembled at Guatemala for the first time on

[1] Squier's "Nicaragua," II. 389 *et seq.*

February 6, 1825. They were thirty-four in number, of whom Guatemala sent seventeen, Salvador nine, Honduras six, Nicaragua six, and Costa Rica two. A little later a Federal Senate, consisting of two members from each State, also met in the capital. General Arce, a soldier of some distinction, was elected President, and in the following April was formally placed in office.

For a short time the path of the Republic was fairly smooth; and under its enlightened policy some progress was made in education, trade, and commerce. But the intrigues of the Serviles soon brought this era of prosperity to an end. Making Guatemala the centre of their machinations, these unscrupulous plotters sowed dissension throughout the entire country, and brought on a long and sanguinary struggle between the two great parties, which only ended with the collapse of the Republic. For, finding that the very existence of the Federation was imperilled, the Liberals rallied to its defence, and under the lead of Francisco Morazan they were for some years successful in holding the Serviles in check. This devoted Republican, who was born in Honduras in 1799, showed rare ability both as a general and as a statesman, and was for a number of years the most conspicuous figure in Central America.[1] His career was full of adventures and vicissitudes. He first took the field in 1827, when the forces of Guatemala, which was usurping the powers of the Federal Government in a thoroughly unconstitutional manner, marched against Honduras. Taken prisoner in this campaign, he succeeded in making his escape, and for thirteen years he prosecuted a vigorous and unrelenting warfare against the enemies of the Republic. And, although he had to contend with cruel and barbarous foes who had no regard for the laws of civilized warfare, he always restrained his men from outrages so far as he could, and made them respect life and property. For a time he was eminently successful in his efforts to uphold the Federation; and in 1834 he was so far master of the situation that he made the city of San Salvador, in the State of Salvador, the capital of the Republic, in place of Guatemala, which had become a nest of disloyalty.

[1] In Stephens's "Incidents of Travel in Central America" may be found an interesting description of Morazan's character and appearance, Vol. II. Chs. V., VI.

But Morazan's enemies were too numerous and too adroit to be kept in subjection. As time passed, the cause of the Republic became hopeless; for dissension appeared even in the ranks of the Liberals, and it became apparent that the devoted and consistent friends of the Federation were too few in number to preserve it. To thwart and overcome Morazan, appeared Carrera, a man of Indian and negro parentage, coarse, brutal, ignorant, and vicious, but audacious, shrewd, and cunning. Soon after Morazan first took the field, Carrera opposed him vigorously; but for some time he proved rather a bitter and determined, than a formidable, antagonist. After a time, however, Carrera's power seemed to increase even as that of Morazan declined. Carrera had indeed all the advantages that belong to a man without conscience and without honor. He circulated false stories about his enemies; he wrought upon the superstition of the people and the Indian natives; and in a country where ignorance was general and unreasoning, fear was easily excited. These unscrupulous methods were a powerful weapon in his hands. By the year 1838 Morazan and the Liberals were practically defeated, and the Republic was seen to be a failure. For two years longer, however, Morazan kept up the struggle; and even after he was obliged to retire to Peru in 1840 with a few chosen followers, he did not give up hope. Gathering a force about him there, he invaded Costa Rica in 1842 and planned to reëstablish the federal authority all over Central America. But he fell into the hands of the opposing forces and was shot.

When the Republic collapsed, in 1838, the five States of Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica became separate and independent. But not all of these States had abandoned the hope of federation. The three central ones, Honduras, Salvador, and Nicaragua, hoped to bring about a new federal union, and to this end they called a national convention in 1842. To this call Costa Rica made no response, and the new Republic that was formed out of the remaining four States had hardly more than a nominal existence. It collapsed entirely in 1847, and from that time Guatemala as well as Costa Rica declined all overtures to establish a new confederation.

But the other three States, Honduras, Salvador, and Nicaragua, even in the face of these continued discourage-

ments, still continued loyal to the federal idea. They accordingly organized a third federation — Honduras, which had long been the centre of Federalist activity, assuming the leadership and dictating the policy of this new union of states. But Honduras did not have far-seeing men at its head, and committed the wretched blunder of trying to force the other States into the federation. To this end it made war on Guatemala with the assistance of Salvador and Nicaragua. Such a war, however, did not have the dignity which belonged to the struggles of Morazan; for it was plainly foredoomed to failure. What that able and high-minded patriot had failed to accomplish in the days of the first Republic, certainly could not be accomplished now, when the cause of federal unity had so frequently suffered shipwreck. Hence the war brought on by Honduras developed into one of those petty and factional strifes which are so thoroughly characteristic of Spanish-American politics.[1] Salvador and Nicaragua soon wearied of it, and left Honduras to carry on the struggle alone. Even with its allies Honduras had hardly been able to hold its own; without them it was entirely overmatched. Guatemala came out triumphant, and the triumph of Guatemala meant the triumph of Carrera and all that he represented. Firmly seated in power, this bigoted and intolerant man played into the hands of the Church party and raised a barrier to progress all over Central America. In Guatemala he trampled free institutions under foot and made himself dictator. Always interfering in the affairs of the other Central American States, he thwarted a new plan for a confederation in 1862; and in 1863 he waged war on Salvador, not liking the liberal and progressive administration of its President, Gerado Barrios. In this war, though at first defeated, he was in the end successful, and thus won for the cause of absolutism a further triumph. His death occurred two years later, on April 14, 1865.

For some time after this the federative movement languished. Its friends had been discouraged by its repeated

[1] Even Morazan's high character and lofty purpose could not wholly redeem the conflicts he engaged in from a personal and partisan character. Stephens relates that his soldiers, after a victory, "marched into the plaza, stacked their arms, and shouted 'Viva Morazan!' In the morning the shout was 'Viva Carrera!' None cried 'Viva la Patria!'" — "Incidents of Travel," II. 85.

failures, and they abandoned their efforts in its behalf. But shortly after Carrera's death there appeared in Guatemala a man who was destined to play a conspicuous part in Central American politics, and who nearly succeeded in effecting that union of the States which had so long been the dream of the Federalist party. Justo Rufino Barrios was born in Guatemala on July 17, 1835, of mixed Spanish and Indian blood. Possessing strong liberal sympathies, he thoroughly disapproved of the despotic régime which Carrera had established; and in 1867 he took part in a revolutionary movement which was designed to free Guatemala from its tyrannical government. At first winning some small successes and again suffering defeat, he gradually gained in power and reputation; and in 1871 he was able to enter the capital of Guatemala and to terminate the reign of absolutism and bigotry which had been established there by Carrera thirty years before. Elevated soon after this to the presidency, he attracted the attention of all Central America by his energy, ability, and courage. Insurrections against his government broke out repeatedly in Guatemala, and he was sometimes obliged to contend also with the neighboring States of Honduras and Salvador, which, headed by reactionary rulers, were opposed to his liberal and progressive rule. But Barrios maintained himself against all his enemies, outlived the attempts of assassins upon his life, and devoted himself to the cause of reform and good government with tireless energy. He freed the press, built railways, reorganized the telegraph and postal systems, improved the roads and bridges, and did much for education both in colleges and schools. In his capital, Guatemala, he took especial interest, and through his efforts it became a clean, healthy, well-policed and well-administered city. He also perfected the military organization of the country, and maintained a disciplined and efficient army, knowing that every Central American ruler must always be ready for an appeal to force. But perhaps the greatest service that he rendered his country was that of ridding it of the tyranny of the Church. "Regardless of priestly malediction and protesting bishops, he suppressed monasteries and nunneries; he banished dangerous religious orders; he made a sweeping sequestration of Church estates; he turned the right royal residences of the clerical dignitaries

into schools, which he liberally endowed with Church incomes. . . . The great convent of San Domingo, almost a town in itself, with a splendid surrounding estate, was converted into a university." [1] But unfortunately the man who so greatly improved the condition of Guatemala was not clean-handed and was sometimes cruel.[2] At the head of a nominal republic, he was really as absolute a ruler as Carrera himself, though he used his power for good government, while Carrera was the enemy of progress. Only, indeed, by harsh measures and by prompt and summary action could he have maintained himself in power.

Accordingly, having confirmed himself in the ways and usages of a dictator, Barrios approached the question of federal unity in a thoroughly characteristic manner. He wished to see all the Central American States brought under one government, but of that government he himself would be the head. In other words, he proposed that Guatemala should annex the other four so-called Republics. But it could not be assumed that this scheme was the offspring of a merely selfish ambition. Undoubtedly Barrios wished to extend all over Central America the enlightened and progressive rule he had given to Guatemala; and he well knew that the personal supremacy of a single strong administrator could alone secure this end. Observant of the world around him, he had seen how Diaz had established his sway in the neighboring State to the north; and he was convinced that political conditions were alike in Mexico and in Central America. Accordingly, he aimed to accomplish a similar work to that of Diaz and to accomplish it in a similar way. Not, however, that he wished to bring about the union by military conquest. On the contrary, he strove primarily to secure the willing coöperation of the other Republics and to gain the desired end solely through diplomacy and negotiation. And in this effort he seemed at first to be successful. It was in 1884 that he gave his attention to the scheme of unity, and he found his own ministers and President Zalvidar of Salvador and President Bogran of Honduras appar-

[1] "Guatemala," by O. J. Victor, in *Harper's Magazine*, 71: 900.

[2] From the charge of wanton and unparalleled cruelty which has sometimes been brought against him, he must be acquitted. *Littell's Living Age*, 170: 283; the *Nation*, 62: 176.

ently in entire sympathy with his plan. Accordingly, as everything seemed ready for the realization of his project, he publicly proclaimed his intention of establishing unity on February 28, 1885; and on March 6 he showed in a further proclamation how the proposed union should be brought about.

The prospect of national unity was greeted with approval by the Federalists all over Central America, and at first it seemed as if the movement would meet with no serious opposition. Nicaragua and Costa Rica stood too much in awe of Barrios to object to it; and Honduras gave it a hearty support. But it soon appeared that President Zalvidar of Salvador had been playing a treacherous part. Openly a friend of the national project, he was at heart opposed to it; and he had been secretly negotiating with Mexico to secure its defeat. Fancying that the Mexican Government was behind him, he now ventured to send an army to attack Barrios in Guatemala. But Mexico gave him no support; his troops were rapidly overpowered by Barrios; and the union seemed likely to be effected without further opposition. But on April 2, at the very moment of success, Barrios himself was killed by the bullet of a sharpshooter, while entering a hostile village at the head of his troops.

Thus perished the one man in Central America who was able to unite its petty States anew under one strong rule. He had not the elevated character, the personal integrity, and the aversion to harsh and cruel measures of President Diaz; but that he would have governed Central America with justice, ability, and statesmanlike breadth there can be no reasonable doubt. But whether he would have laid the foundations of a new nation is quite a different question. Even in Mexico anarchy and revolution may be the order of things when the strong and beneficent rule of the last quarter of a century has come to an end; though the world confidently expects a better result. And in Central America, where jealousies and petty warfares have reigned for three quarters of a century, and where revolutions are still an everyday occurrence, the difficulties in the way of national unity are even greater than they are in the Mexican Republic. Yet, even so, the death of Barrios was a public calamity, and was the occasion of deep and genuine sorrow throughout all the Central American Republics.

But the end which he failed to accomplish was imperfectly realized ten years after his death. On June 28, 1895, the three States of Central America which had always been most loyal to the federative idea, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Salvador, constituted themselves the Greater Republic of Central America. Guatemala and Costa Rica held entirely aloof from the Confederation for a time; but on June 15, 1897, they proposed to join it, and a treaty was agreed upon by all five Republics as a basis of union. But this treaty was never ratified, and Guatemala and Costa Rica, accordingly, never became actual members of the Greater Republic.

As originally constituted, the Confederation had but a precarious existence. It did not rest upon a Constitution, and the scheme of government provided for it was a very imperfect one. The Presidents of the different States took their turns in serving as President of the Greater Republic, and the only legislative body was a Council, of very limited powers, which consisted of two delegates from each State. But in 1898 the Confederation was put upon a better basis. For in the summer of that year delegates from its three members met at Managua in Nicaragua, framed a Constitution, and gave their union the name of the United States of Central America. The Constitution was not to be submitted to popular vote, but a commission was appointed to exercise the functions of government for the time being, and to provide for the election of a President in the following December. It was expected that the President would be inaugurated in March, 1899. But before that time arrived, the Confederation collapsed. It was formally established on November 1, 1898, and for a brief period all went well. But about the middle of November one of the candidates for the presidency, a Salvadorean named Tomaso Regalado, seized upon the machinery of government and made the fulfilment of the federative scheme impossible. He did not aim to make himself the permanent head of the Confederation, for it did not accord with his plans to keep the Confederation alive. Rather was his action prompted by regard for the interests of Salvador, which strongly objected to the financial arrangements authorized by the new Constitution. Accordingly, after gaining control of affairs, Señor Regalado issued a proclamation declaring that Salvador was no longer a member

of the Confederation, but that it would join the union of Central American Republics whenever its own interests made such a course seem advisable.

Such is the meagre result of three quarters of a century of endeavor after national unity. What will yet be accomplished in that direction it is useless to prophesy; but the history of Central America ever since it was delivered from Spanish rule shows conclusively that the people of the country cannot exercise self-government as that word is properly understood. That they have made progress in education, industry, and commerce cannot be denied; and assuredly they have the right to establish any kind of rule that they find suited to themselves. They are certainly better off than they were under Spain's harsh dominion; and even though they do not make law respected, government stable, and property secure, who shall say that their political education is making no headway at all? But as yet they do not understand the meaning of free institutions or the responsibilities of citizenship. Fond of color, gayety, and brightness, loving the gorgeous processions and ceremonies of the Church better than the sober side of life, averse to serious thinking, living in the feelings and emotions, and delighting in fêtes and in exciting sports, the Central American does not know how to cherish political ideals or to fight against political corruption. Hence, in his country it is the strong man rather than the majority that rules, and the character of the government always depends upon the character of the man who has grasped the reins of power. Almost invariably the Central American ruler is despotic; almost invariably does he surround himself with characters whose chief merit is their willingness to do his bidding; but sometimes he is not dishonest, and occasionally he is a man of liberal and progressive views. But his power he knows to be insecure, for it does not rest upon the suffrages of the people. It is by a revolution that he rises, and by a revolution that he may expect to fall. Therefore, the Central American Republics will be Republics in name only until long years have changed the temper of the people, and many patriots like Morazan have taught their countrymen the value of liberty. And, all this being so, it goes without saying that the endeavor to establish national unity cannot well succeed. Weak states

cannot form a strong state; the weakness of the units is sure to affect the whole. If the individual republics are at the mercy of revolutions, the central republic must be subject to revolutions also; if each separate government is a one-man power, the one-man power must likewise control the central government. Hence, an alliance or contract easily dissolved is all that can for some time be expected from a confederation of the Central American Republics.

The government of each one of these five states being thus shifting and unstable, it is hardly worth while to trace its history since the first attempt at union failed in 1838. For the story would be an unprofitable record of constant changes and petty revolutions; of intrigue, greed, selfishness, despotism, and cruelty, attended with some progress, some inevitable material growth, and on the whole a fair measure of prosperity. The larger and more important elements of the story have already been given in the account of the endeavor after unity; the small and petty elements may well be ignored. Accordingly, each of the Republics will be considered separately only so far as is necessary to describe the form of government and to give such statistical records as may indicate the industrial possibilities of each country.[1]

Guatemala

The largest of the five Republics is the one which the preceding pages show to have had, on the whole, the greatest political importance, Guatemala, its area being 63,400 square miles, which is about that of all New England. It is also the most populous of them all, having 1,750,000 inhabitants. The Constitution gives the suffrage to all, and vests the government in a President elected by the people for six years, and a single Legislative Chamber, the members of which are elected for four years. Education is free and is supposed to be compulsory, but not more than from one third to one half of the children actually attend school. The poor roads of the country are as yet a great hindrance to the development of

[1] For a discussion of the resources, climate, soil, products, and industries of each Republic consult the United States Government's "Handbook of the American Republics"; also W. E. Curtis on "Central America: Its Resources and Commerce," in the *Forum* for April and May, 1898.

the country's resources, as mule paths are the ordinary means of communication, and as yet but few railroads have been constructed. Yet, owing to the influence of Barrios, Guatemala has introduced more modern improvements than any other Central American State, and since his death the construction of public works has not been entirely abandoned.

The soil of the country is exceedingly rich, and is capable of producing a great variety of products. Coffee, sugar, tobacco, and cereals of an admirable quality can be raised in almost unlimited quantities, while the timber forests are very valuable, as they are all over Central America. Altogether, the resources of Guatemala are so great that it probably could support ten times the population that it now contains. But its growth will not be rapid until it has acquired greater political stability, for of recent years it has been the scene of much restlessness and agitation. After the death of Justo Barrios in 1885, his nephew, José Maria Reina Barrios, became the leading figure in the State, and made himself head of the Government. But his rule was a stern one, and in suppressing rebellion with a merciless hand he made so many enemies that a price was publicly offered for his death. Consequently, he lived in constant dread of assassins, and was finally killed by one on February 8, 1898. But his death caused little change in the conduct of the Government.

Honduras

Honduras is about two thirds as large as Guatemala, having an area of about 43,000 square miles, which is nearly the same as that of Virginia, but it has a population of less than 500,000. It is, indeed, a very backward and unprogressive country, its inhabitants being peculiarly listless and indolent, even for Spanish Americans. Little attempt is made to develop the natural resources of the country; yet Honduras has a wonderfully rich soil, considerable mineral wealth, excellent timber lands, navigable rivers, and fine harbors. It is nominally a Republic, being governed under a charter which was proclaimed in 1894, and which grants representative government, religious freedom, and free and compulsory education. The executive power is vested in a President elected by the suffrages of the people, who is assisted by a Council of

Ministers. There is one legislative body, to which one deputy is allowed for every thousand inhabitants. This system of government is actually in operation, and education is provided as the law directs. But the apathy of the people makes the free institutions of the country peculiarly unstable. The strong man could at any time easily overturn them.

Salvador

Quite a different country is the little Republic of Salvador. Although it contains but a little over 7000 square miles — about the size of New Jersey or Massachusetts — it has nearly a million inhabitants, and its people are characterized by industry, energy, and thrift. Only about 20,000 of them are white, and this oligarchy controls the Government and gives to the whole country its progressive character and its comparatively advanced political condition. Salvador has indeed an admirable Constitution,[1] proclaimed first in 1864 but modified in 1880, 1883, and 1886, which vests the executive authority in a President elected for four years by the people, and the legislative in a National Assembly of Deputies chosen for every year by universal suffrage. Instruction is made compulsory, and all the rights which properly belong to the citizens of a free republic are guaranteed. But the provisions of the Constitution are summarily set aside by the ruling class, which so manipulates the elections as to keep the power firmly in its own hands. Although the Constitution declares against the conscription of soldiers, the Government does not hesitate to raise all the troops it needs, and to use them in an illegal and high-handed manner. Hence here, as nearly everywhere in Spanish America, republican institutions exist rather in theory than in practice. The President is almost invariably an absolute ruler, and comes into power by a proclamation declaring his authority rather than by process of election.

But the country is highly prosperous and its resources have been well developed. Its mines contain rich stores of silver, gold, iron, copper, and quicksilver; its soil gives an abundant yield of coffee, sugar, indigo, tobacco, and various tropical products; and its roads are in better condition than those of

[1] Consult the United States Government's publication on Salvador in the Bureau of American Republics.

the other Central American countries. Unfortunately, however, its coast does not contain a single harbor, and it frequently suffers from violent earthquakes.

Nicaragua

Though containing 49,500 square miles of territory and equalling in area the State of New York, Nicaragua has a population of only half a million, and is making no gains in material prosperity. For its people are discouraged by the frequent political disturbances and are little disposed to accumulate what a usurping Government may suddenly snatch away. The closing years of the century have been especially disquieting, for they have witnessed the attempts of a typical Spanish-American adventurer to make himself master of the country. General Santos Zelaya, aspiring to be President, established his authority by a proclamation setting aside the Constitution of 1894, which vests the executive power in a President chosen for four years by the people and the legislative in a Congress of forty deputies elected for two years. Once in power, President Zelaya found himself the object of many conspiracies, and adopted such harsh and repressive measures as to make himself disliked all over the country. That his career will be cut short by violence is highly probable, but it is equally probable that his successor will resort to similar methods of rule and will show the same disregard of the Constitution. And while such political unrest prevails, Nicaragua will continue to be undeveloped, though its mines, its forests, its soil, and its fisheries contain inexhaustible riches.

Costa Rica

In this small country, which, containing about 39,000 square miles, is a little larger than Indiana and has a population of less than 300,000, republican institutions seem to have found a congenial home. Unlike her sister Republics, Costa Rica elects her rulers in the manner provided for by the Constitution, and in other respects shows herself to be a quiet and law-abiding country. The Constitution, however, is not as democratic as that of most Spanish-American States, as both the President, whose term of office is four years, and the Congress, whose members serve for four years, one half retiring every

two years, are chosen by an electoral assembly and not directly by the people. There are about 30 deputies and between 500 and 600 electors. The President has considerable power, as he can appoint and remove at will the four members of his Cabinet; but he cannot serve for two terms in succession. The Constitution provides for free primary education, and the children are obliged to attend school except in the thinly settled regions. Costa Rica has also an excellent judicial system, there being a Supreme Court of eleven justices elected by Congress for four years, a minor court in each province but that of San José, which has two, and criminal courts with subordinate judges called *alcaldes* throughout the country. In the other Central American Republics also a judicial system is provided for by the Constitution and has of necessity some degree of working efficiency. But it is needless to say that where despots govern, justice is often blind. It is to be noted that Roman Catholicism is recognized as the established religion of the State in Costa Rica; but entire freedom of worship is granted to other creeds.

Under its excellent government the population of the country is rapidly increasing, and already Costa Rica has developed a considerable foreign trade. Coffee, bananas, skins, hides, and hard woods are the chief articles of export; but the soil is capable of producing almost everything, and these exports are certain to grow in variety as well as in value, as the country becomes more thickly settled. Not very many miles of railways have yet been constructed, but the lines are well arranged for giving the great productive regions an outlet upon the Atlantic and Pacific coasts.

It may be remembered that Costa Rica was the first State to recognize the futility of the federative experiment (p. 494) and to devote itself quietly and peaceably to the management of its own affairs. Ever since that time it has been inclined to let its neighbors alone and to expend its energies in establishing the reign of justice, law, and prosperity within its own borders. So well has it succeeded in these efforts, that its career may be viewed as an example for all Spanish-American countries, and as a promise that all Central America, which is one of the richest and fairest regions of the globe, will some day be one of the most prosperous.

CHAPTER III

SOUTH AMERICA

The opening years of the nineteenth century found Spain in possession of a great portion of South America. Brazil belonged to Portugal; the British, Dutch, and French had divided Guiana between them; and Patagonia, though really a part of the Spanish viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, was abandoned to tribes of wandering Indians; but over all the rest of the South American continent Spain exercised her galling and tyrannical rule. For the people of this vast region fared no better than the inhabitants of other Spanish Colonies. They were badly used by the Spanish governors, persecuted by the Inquisition, and continually forced to sacrifice their own interests to those of the mother-country. Their commerce was crippled by exasperating restrictions; they were forbidden to raise articles which might compete with the products of Spain in the home markets.[1] But the people of South America did not remain tamely submissive under this petty tyranny. It was the Indians who first sought to redress their wrongs by arms, for they were treated with intolerable cruelty; and

[1] It has become one of the accepted traditions of history that Spain's treatment of her Colonies was extremely harsh and cruel; but only a detailed statement of the atrocities practised could give an idea of what the colonists suffered. The brief and general account given in the text above, far from being exaggerated, falls greatly short of the truth. Throughout Spanish America the prisons were veritable infernos. For a full description of Spain's infamous colonial policy consult Captain Basil Hall's "South America," Vol. I. Ch. VII.

Even as temperate and careful a writer as Professor Bernard Moses says of this same policy: "The trade restrictions which were imposed upon the Colonies, instead of permitting them to start with the advantages of the achievements of European civilization, in many cases drove them back to the barbarism of the aborigines, and doomed them to go over again the painful way up to civilization which their ancestors had trod in Europe." — "The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America," p. 286.

under Tupac Amaru II., called the Last of the Incas, they made a formidable attack upon the Spanish power in 1780. But owing to a lack of arms and discipline they were thoroughly defeated, and their leader was put to a cruel death in the following year.[1] Soon, however, came the victorious ending of the American Revolution and the bloody overthrow of monarchy in France. Encouraged by these events, the discontented South American peoples cherished the hope of winning their independence, and bided their time. Their opportunity seemed to come when Napoleon invaded Spain in 1808; for the entire energies of the Spanish nation became absorbed in its long and desperate struggle with the armies of France. Accordingly, on April 19, 1810, some months earlier than the first attack in Mexico (p. 479), a handful of Venezuelan patriots, among whom was Simon Bolivar, instigated an uprising at Caracas. The movement was successful, and the rebellion became more formidable with each new victory. Venezuela was soon freed temporarily from Spanish rule and in 1811 was declared to be a Republic. Meanwhile, the first sparks of insurrection had been kindling a mighty conflagration, and by this time nearly all of Spain's South American Colonies were in a state of revolt. The provinces that are now comprised by the countries of Peru, Chili, and Bolivia, and the city of Buenos Ayres, all became the scenes of uprisings against the dominion of Spain. Buenos Ayres had in 1776 been declared the capital of a viceroyalty comprising the provinces of Rio de la Plata, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Bolivia, and it now became the centre of a persistent and successful movement for independence. As early as 1810 a provisional Government of the provinces of the Rio de la Plata was formed, and allegiance to Spain made thereby only nominal; and on January 31, 1813, a Congress was assembled at Buenos Ayres, which thus became the seat of a national Government. This Government Spain never succeeded in overthrowing; and in 1816 the formal separation from the mother-country was decreed, and the Argentine Republic came into being, though not with its present boundaries. From this time on the Republic was not called upon to expel the Spanish armies from its own territory;

[1] An interesting sketch of this rebellion may be found in Markham's "History of Peru," Ch. VIII.

but it rendered aid to the other Colonies that were struggling for independence.

And this struggle was a long and sanguinary one, in the course of which the cause of the patriots more than once seemed hopeless. For at Buenos Ayres alone was the revolution at once successful. In other places the insurrectionary movement was crushed, for a time even Venezuela, with Bolivar as its leader, being unable to hold its own. For fresh troops were sent into that province in 1812, and in the same year the patriots were discouraged by the tremendous earthquake which shook Caracas to the ground and destroyed the lives of more than ten thousand people. Viewing this convulsion of nature as sent by an offended Deity to rebuke their rebellious spirit, the superstitious people of Venezuela lost their interest in the revolution, and made so feeble a stand against the Spanish forces that Bolivar was driven from the province in 1812.

Passing into the adjoining province of New Granada, he continued the struggle with varying fortunes, in 1814 receiving so disastrous a defeat that it seemed doubtful whether he could ever rally another army. Even his courage almost failed at this crisis, and in 1815 he sought refuge in Jamaica. But he soon reappeared, and renewed the conflict with such vigor that the Spanish power, undermined by the persistency and the widespread area of the rebellion, began to give way. Defeated in one province, Bolivar passed into another, always finding some region in which the fire of rebellion had not been quenched. In the northern provinces the patriots suffered many reverses before they won any decisive victories. But Chili was finally freed from Spain by the battle of Maipo, fought April 5, 1818, and on August 7 of the following year Bolivar freed New Granada by the great victory of Boyacá. In Venezuela the Spanish general, Murillo, offered a very stubborn resistance to the patriot forces, but his army was at last almost annihilated in the battle of Carabobo, which took place on June 24, 1821. So complete was this victory that it enabled the people of Venezuela to set up a Republic on the ruins of the Spanish régime.

Quito (now Ecuador) and Peru were the only countries still in the possession of Spain, and Bolivar determined to com-

plete the work of liberation by effecting their deliverance. Marching first into the province of Quito, he defeated the Spaniards in the important battle of Pichincha on May 24, 1822, which enabled him to enter the city of Quito without opposition, and on December 9, 1824, he brought the long struggle practically to an end by the great victory won at Ayacucho in Peru. About a year later the Spaniards gave up their last stronghold in South America, though they did not formally recognize the independence of the country till 1845.

Bolivar was undoubtedly the central figure in this long revolutionary contest, and he was not inaptly termed "The Liberator," by his countrymen. Showing rare self-denial in his efforts to free his country, he sacrificed his vast fortune in prosecuting the war, suffered the hardships and privations of the commonest soldier, faced overwhelming odds unflinchingly, and inspired enthusiasm and devotion by his unfailing personal charm. Yet, great as was the service he rendered to the work of liberation, he might possibly have failed but for the assistance of three other patriots whose merits have seldom received adequate recognition. A brief account of what each of them accomplished is therefore appropriate.

José Antonio Paez[1] saved the revolutionary movement in Venezuela from utter defeat by his heroism and daring. Accustomed to the wild life of the herdsman, inured to hardship, without an equal in horsemanship and in all exercises requiring bodily strength and skill, Paez had an unbounded influence over the rough llaneros of the plains. These men, whose weapon was the deadly lance, he trained into a marvellously efficient body of cavalry, and with them he accomplished feats which make those of mediæval knights seem tame.[2] When the armies of the patriots were routed and the war seemed at an end, Paez continued the struggle with his llaneros and made his name a terror to the enemy by his wild and amazing

[1] Not very much has been written about this gallant revolutionary hero, but a graphic picture of his achievements may be found in a work by his son, Don Ramon Paez, entitled "Wild Scenes in South America," Chs. XXII. and XXIII.; and Paez has himself recorded the story of his life in an autobiography, published in New York in 1867, and appreciatively reviewed in the *Nation*, 6: 291.

[2] His most astonishing achievement was that of capturing some Spanish gunboats in the river with a small band of men who swam with their horses into the stream, climbed into the boats, and overpowered their crews.

exploits. Nothing seemed too hazardous for him to attempt, and some of the more important victories were achieved by his reckless bravery and ingenious stratagems. In the great and decisive battle of Carabobo it was a charge by Paez and his horsemen that carried the day. But, modest as he was brave, Paez, even after his most astonishing successes, always stood ready to acknowledge Bolivar's superiority. By no display of jealousy or petty-mindedness did he ever injure or imperil the patriot cause.

Services of quite a different character did Antonio José de Sucre render to the revolutionary movement. Educated as a military engineer, General Sucre showed such rare organizing power that Bolivar termed him "the soul of the army" and his campaigns were conducted with ability and success. On the battle-field he was of great service to Bolivar, who was not always cool and clear-headed during an engagement.[1] The decisive battles of Pichincha and Ayacucho, as well as some that are less famous, were won by Sucre's generalship and courage. Unfortunately, his political career was cut short when he was only thirty-seven years old, as his political enemies had him shot from an ambush in 1830.

Less famous even than Paez is José de San Martin, though his achievements rivalled even those of Bolivar himself. Born at Yapeyú, in the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, in 1778, he was taken to Spain at the age of eight and was there educated as a soldier. After serving for nearly twenty years in the Spanish army, he returned to Buenos Ayres in 1810 to engage in the war for independence. Soon gaining distinction by his military ability and receiving an important command, he yet retired from the army in 1814, for he had conceived a large project which could only be executed after long and careful preparations. His plan was nothing less than to march an army across the Andes and break the Spanish power on the Pacific coast. Impracticable as this scheme seemed to be, it was yet carried out in 1817. San Martin organized a force that was termed the "army of the Andes," succeeded, by extraor-

[1] Bolivar has sometimes been pronounced destitute of military ability; but San Martin thought highly of his generalship, and Sucre came near losing the battle of Ayacucho through disregarding Bolivar's warning against scattering his forces. Pilling's "Emancipation of South America," pp. 407, 454.

dinary exertions, in leading it across the Andes into Chili, and won a signal victory over the Spaniards at Chacabuco on February 12. The still more decisive battle of Maipo, fought on April 5 of the following year, delivered all Chili into his hands and left him free to attempt the conquest of Peru. Landing in that province in September through the assistance of Admiral Cochrane's fleet, he carried everything before him; and on July 12, 1821, he was able to make a triumphal entry into Lima. By these successes he had made himself as conspicuous in the southern theatre of the war as Bolivar had been in the northern provinces, and he expected to share equally with that eminent patriot the glory of bringing the struggle for liberty to a speedy and successful conclusion. But in this hope he was bitterly disappointed. Meeting Bolivar for the first time at Guayaquil on July 25, 1822, San Martin found that the Liberator would brook no rival. Accordingly, unwilling to create dissension and antagonisms, he withdrew from the scene of action, and, soon resigning his command, set out for Europe. Unquestionably the war was prolonged because Bolivar's vanity prevented him from securing this gifted patriot's coöperation.

But it was not to her own sons only that South America owed her independence. As the Greeks in their nearly contemporary struggle for liberty were greatly helped by Lord Byron and other Hellenists, so did the people of South America receive valuable aid from Lord Cochrane and from a valiant band of British volunteers. Thomas Cochrane, tenth Earl of Dundonald, was born on December 14, 1775. Although he was an able and gallant seaman and distinguished himself in Great Britain's service, his impulsive and uncompromising character finally caused him to be unjustly sentenced to fine and imprisonment, and to be deprived of his command in the British navy. Thus becoming a free lance, but always preserving a high sense of honor and never lending himself to an ignoble cause, he now listened to overtures from the newly established government of Chili and undertook to command and organize its navy. Arriving at Valparaiso on November 29, 1818, he put life and spirit into the struggling patriots by his boundless energy. It was through Lord Cochrane's successes and vigorous exertions that San Martin was able to invade Peru; and for four years he did

sterling service to the patriot cause. But he never got on well with San Martin,[1] and he finally threw up his commission in disgust, being satisfied that he could never obtain due recognition and support from a government that was already torn with political dissension and rendered inefficient by ministerial corruption. More fortunate in winning merited praise were the British and Irish volunteers, who fought side by side with the patriots on the fields of Venezuela and showed heroic valor in the bloody battle of Carabobo. Two thirds of their number were killed or wounded in that engagement, and when the survivors passed before Bolivar, he greeted them with the generous words, "Saviours of my country!"[2]

The war for independence having been brought to a successful termination, the countries thus set free from Spanish rule had to choose and establish their forms of government. As the war had been a war of liberation, to some extent inspired by the example of the United States, it was natural that republican principles should now be held throughout Spanish America and that the people should everywhere expect to rule. Even during the war these tendencies were manifest, and as fast as the Spanish viceroys were driven out of various provinces, Congresses were convened to provide for the conduct of affairs. But throughout the northern provinces the success of the patriots was for some years too transitory and the fortunes of war too shifting to allow any organized government a sure and permanent foundation; and the exigencies of the time seemed to render a dictatorial power inevitable. Accordingly, Bolivar was intrusted with supreme authority, and as the revolution gained new victories, the area of his rule increased. First of all Venezuela gave him entire control of civil and military affairs when he entered Caracas at the head of a liberating army in 1813; and in the following year New Granada, which had declared itself to be a Republic, appointed him commander-in-chief of its forces. But in 1819

[1] Much sharp and bitter language passed between Lord Cochrane and San Martin. Probably the two were incapable of understanding each other. The "Dictionary of National Biography" (XI. 172) implies that San Martin deserved Lord Cochrane's reproaches; but the account of San Martin given in Hall's "South America," Vol. II. Ch. X., makes the correctness of this view seem at least very doubtful.

[2] Eastwick's "Venezuela," p. 217.

he succeeded in uniting these two countries into a single State, called the Republic of Colombia, of which he was chosen President. Three years later occurred his victorious campaign in the province of Quito, which now entered the Colombian Republic under the name of Ecuador,[1] and increased Bolivar's authority and influence. Still greater prestige came to him after his armies liberated Peru in 1824, for the Congress of Lima made him dictator with absolute powers. And finally, in 1825, Upper Peru, which had been under the government established recently at Buenos Ayres (p. 507), as it belonged once to the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, formed itself into a separate State under the name of Bolivia, made the triumphant general perpetual dictator, and intrusted him with the task of preparing it a Constitution.

Such a rapid advancement in power and authority was enough to inspire any man with far-reaching ambition; and Bolivar, though sometimes called the "Washington of South America," did not possess Washington's well-balanced mind and perfect self-control. The powers which had been given him for the purposes of warfare he wished to keep perpetually; and it was just when the most splendid future seemed before him that his influence began to decline. For with the dawn of peace the countries he had freed began to manifest strong republican aspirations. Bolivar's arrogant and dictatorial ways gave offence to the partisans of popular sovereignty, and a fierce factional warfare arose between the Liberals, who believed that each State should pursue its own separate career and devote its energies to internal reforms, and the Federalists, who were ardently attached to Bolivar and were determined to carry through their scheme of federation at any cost. Hence, the era of peace soon degenerated into an era of dissension. In all the States which had been freed by Bolivar's exertions and had come under his ascendency, violent contentions arose and stood in the way of peaceable and steady progress. Thus here, as in Central America, the incapacity of the Spanish American for self-government began to be strikingly manifest.

[1] This name was derived from the southernmost of the three departments into which the old Spanish province of Quito was divided. This department was called Ecuador (Equator) because the equator passed through it.

That Bolivar's actions at this period were due to a purely selfish ambition cannot be justly concluded. No doubt he wished to wield the vast powers to which he aspired for the prosperity and political advancement of the people. But his methods were unfortunate, and equally so were those of some of his most distinguished compatriots. On May 25, 1826, he presented to the Congress of Bolivia his draft of a Constitution, and at the same time recommended that form of government which he deemed most suitable for the newly established Republics. As the most striking feature in his plan was that the President of each Republic should be appointed for life, the friends of constitutional government took alarm. Even in Chili and in Buenos Ayres the Republicans were filled with apprehension, while in Peru they accused Bolivar of conspiring to subvert free institutions and to bring all the States of Spanish America under his own absolute rule.[1]

And in truth this was exactly what Bolivar wanted and endeavored to accomplish. But his efforts were unsuccessful. Bolivar was at this time President of the Republic of Colombia, and Santander, an able and upright man, was its Vice-President; but Bolivar left the practical management of affairs in Santander's hands, while he himself pushed forward his dictatorial schemes in Bolivia. But rebellion soon called him back to the seat of government. Venezuela became disaffected in 1826, and Ecuador in the following year. By using the powers which the Constitution gave him and by establishing military rule in these States, Bolivar for the time being kept them under his control. But his power was waning fast. In February, 1827, he resigned his official position, and, although he was asked by the Senate to withdraw his resignation, it was apparent that he was losing his adherents, while Santander, whose loyalty to the Constitution had commanded respect, was steadily gaining friends. But, instead of profiting by this lesson and abandoning his despotic ways, Bolivar became more arbitrary than ever. On March 21, 1828, he issued a decree, convening a national Congress at Orcana;

[1] In the "Memoirs of Simon Bolivar," by General H. L. V. Ducoudray Holstein (1829), is a memoir by the Marquis of Torre-Tagle, late President of Peru, which shows how high-handed were Bolivar's actions there.

and when it assembled, he quartered himself near it with an army of three thousand men, with a view to controlling its proceedings. True, he did not play the part of Cromwell and send his soldiers on the floor of the assembly hall, but he directed his own followers to leave the Convention and thereby deprived it of a quorum. So the Convention could accomplish nothing, and his own friends, to whom he issued earnest appeals, now became masters of the situation. Summoning popular assemblies at Bogotá, Caracas, and Cartagena, they granted him the powers of a dictator. Thus fortified, he issued a decree in August, 1828, declaring himself absolute ruler of Colombia.

But these high-handed measures could not long delay his downfall. The States became more and more disaffected, and not even by military force was he long able to hold them in subjection. Venezuela withdrew from the Confederation in 1829, and in the following year the Liberals in Ecuador wrested the government from the adherents of Bolivar and made Ecuador an independent Republic. These secessions broke Bolivar's power, and it soon became apparent that even over the remaining portion of the Colombian Republic he could no longer retain his sway. The Convention that met at Bogotá, the capital, in 1830, accepted his resignation from the presidency, greatly to his mortification, and there was nothing left for him but to retire from public life. Disappointed and broken in health, he spent the few months that remained to him in bitter reflections,[1] and only a few days before his death he dictated a farewell address to the nation in which he taxed

[1] Bolivar's feelings at this period are shown by the following extracts from a letter which he wrote to General Flores of Ecuador only about a month before his death. They were first published in English by Hassaurek in his "Four Years among Spanish Americans," Ch. XII.

"I have been in power for nearly twenty years, from which I have gathered only a few definite results: —

1. America is for us ungovernable.
2. He who dedicates his services to a revolution ploughs the sea.
3. The only thing that can be done in America is to emigrate.
4. This country will inevitably fall into the hands of the unbridled rabble, and little by little become a prey to petty tyrants of all colors and races.
5. Devoured as we shall be by all possible crimes, and ruined by our ferociousness, the Europeans will not deem it worth while to conquer us.
6. If it were possible for any part of the world to return to a state of primitive chaos, that would be the last stage of South America."

his countrymen with ingratitude and injustice. He died on December 17, 1830, having lived long enough to see the States he had freed fail utterly in their attempt at federative union and enter the troublous pathway of factional warfare. Since his death Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia have continued to be separate and independent States.

Equally futile were the efforts to weld the remaining Spanish countries of South America into a permanent federation. The viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres was a very extensive province, comprising the territory now occupied by Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, and the Argentine Republic. Under Spanish rule the viceroyalty was divided into six provinces, and these six provinces made the units out of which the new State was composed. The first attempt at union was utterly unsuccessful, as the government was very imperfectly organized and the people of the country barely knew what system of rule they desired. So far were they from accepting true republican principles that they sent delegates to Europe in 1814 to find them a prince in England, France, or some other monarchical country. But as this project fell through, and as the government seemed to have no power to preserve order outside of Buenos Ayres itself, a Congress was assembled at Tucuman in 1816 and a new Confederation, called the "United Provinces of Rio de la Plata," was established. Like all Spanish-American people at this time, the members of the Congress looked upon the United States as having successfully solved all the problems of government, and they adopted some of the fundamental features of the United States Constitution. For they provided that the new Confederation should be governed by a president and by a legislature consisting of two houses. But that the forms of a republic are worth little without a free and intelligent exercise of the right of suffrage, they had yet to learn.

Hence this new experiment in nation-making soon ended in failure. The new Constitution, from which so much was expected, was not even adopted by all of the provinces; for an antagonism was speedily developed between the city of Buenos Ayres and the men of influence in the rural districts. Accustomed to lead the people about them, these men could not brook the assumptions of the capital city, which despised the raw civilization of the pampas, being quite unconscious of the

thinness and poverty of its own. There being this lack of sympathy and coöperation between the different parts of the United Provinces and their centre, the process of disintegration soon began. Bolivia asserted its independence in 1825 (p. 513). Paraguay, as early as 1814, passed under the despotic rule of José Gaspar Rodriguez Francia, who exercised such absolute authority that the province never really came under the control of the Buenos Ayres Government. In Uruguay, José Artigas, a guacho who had served with success in the war for independence, attempted the rôle of dictator which Francia had played so successfully in Paraguay, and in 1814 he made himself master of affairs. After ruling despotically for a few years and stirring up much strife, he was driven out of the country in 1820, and Uruguay was annexed by Brazil as the Cisplatine State. But its people were little inclined to submit to this arrangement, and, encouraged to revolt by Buenos Ayres, they declared themselves independent on August 25, 1825. This action led to a war between Buenos Ayres and Brazil for the possession of Uruguay, which lasted several years. But, partly through the intervention of the British Government, the independence of the country was recognized on October 4, 1828.

Thus the tendencies to disintegration, to petty despotisms, and to ceaseless political turmoil were as strong in the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata as they were in the Colombian Republic. Everywhere throughout the Confederation there was factional strife, which ended in the elevation of some soldier of fortune to the control of his own province. Under these conditions the cause of federal unity was hopelessly lost, and the only question was how far the process of disintegration would extend. Would each one of the six provinces that once made up the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres become an independent State, or could any of them be held together and be made into one Republic of imposing power and dimensions? If such a unifying movement could be accomplished, Buenos Ayres itself must be its centre, for no other city possessed the necessary energy and prestige. And even at Buenos Ayres there was confusion for a while; for in 1820 José Rondeau, the last director elected under the Constitution of 1816, was overthrown, and at first it seemed doubtful if any one could establish order. But a few months later General Manuel

Domingo Rodriguez appointed Bernardino Rivadavia Secretary of the Interior and Dr. Manuel Garcia Secretary of the Treasury; and, with the aid of these two able and progressive men, he effected a number of reforms. Liberty of the press was decreed, protection was extended to savings-banks and other financial institutions, education was encouraged, and the Church was declared separate from the State. Thus Buenos Ayres made good its right to lead and to save the surrounding provinces from discord and anarchy. The States which had not declared their independence continued to recognize Buenos Ayres as their capital, and on January 23, 1825, they received from the Buenos Ayres Government a national Constitution. Thus the process of disintegration was to some extent stayed, and the Argentine Republic, as now constituted, had its first beginnings. Through Canning's influence the British Government recognized the independence of the country in a commercial treaty which was signed February 3, only a few days after the Constitution was decreed. Fortunate in these negotiations with a great European power, the State was equally fortunate in its first President; Rivadavia, the head of the Unitarians, being chosen to that office in spite of the efforts of the Federals, who were opposed to national unity and to a strong central government.

Thus by the year 1830 the question of federation was settled all over South America. Brazil had become an Empire under a branch of the Portuguese monarchical house (p. 117). Chili, owing to its isolated position, never joined any union of the States after it established its independence in 1818. The old viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres had been broken up into the separate States of Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, and the Argentine Confederation. Bolivar had failed to make a Republic out of the Colombian States; and if these smaller federations could not hold together, still less could the countries of South America follow the example of the American Union and, through the binding power of a Constitution, develop into a great nation. Many obstacles were in the way of permanent union. The area of the States was vast, and they were sparsely settled; they were severed by wide rivers and lofty mountain chains; they had no well-developed system of roads to make intercourse easy. But all these difficulties might have been

overcome if the political conditions had been more favorable. It was the ignorance, the instability, the superstition, and the lack of political experience that made all the larger federative schemes fall through. In South America, as well as in Central America and Mexico, the Spanish American has shown himself unable to understand the principles of self-government. Hence, even the story of the separate States is an unattractive and discouraging one. Some few of them have shown a capacity for progress, orderly government, and all the institutions that belong to advanced civilization. But these States are the exceptions. In most of them revolution has succeeded revolution, anarchy alternates with despotism, and the people, though they cherish republican ideals, cannot found a true Republic.

The Argentine Republic

The Confederation of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, established in 1816, had from the beginning an arduous and struggling existence (p. 516). Rivadavia ruled the Confederation with justice and moderation, but he was followed in 1829 by Rosas, who obtained dictatorial powers and maintained his ascendency for more than twenty years by tyranny and bloodshed. He was driven from the country in 1852, and in the following year a new Constitution was proclaimed, the country now taking the name of the Argentine Republic. But the new Confederation found almost as many difficulties to contend with as the old. The province of Buenos Ayres declared itself independent in the very year that the Constitution was adopted, and did not rejoin the Confederation until 1859. Even after this was accomplished, the country did not find peace and prosperity. In 1865 the Republic was forced into a serious war with Paraguay, which lasted till 1870. Only four years later occurred a civil uprising under Brigadier-General Mitre, who had been a candidate for the presidency and who asserted that his successful rival, President Avellaneda, had carried the election by fraudulent means. The revolution was put down in sixty-six days and was followed by a period of comparative tranquillity, during which the country made considerable progress.

But an insurrection which broke out in 1890 brought this era of progress temporarily to an end, as it proved to be of a

formidable character. It was caused by the extravagance and the arbitrary conduct of President Juarez Celman. Though he brought the country into great financial difficulties and showed himself an incapable executive, President Celman refused to resign his office, and severe fighting took place between his supporters and the insurgents. He was finally forced to retire from office; but hardly had good order been restored before the country was visited by a disastrous panic. It was due in part to the corrupt practices and reckless expenditures of the Celman Government, and in part to over-rapid industrial and commercial expansion. This unfortunate financial condition was aggravated by political restlessness, and for some years the country suffered from frequent rebellions and from a stringency in the money market which seriously affected its credit with foreign countries. But after a time the Government established its authority, and prosperity began to return. The country, which has an area nearly one third as large as that of the United States, including Alaska, is one of the richest agricultural and grazing regions in the world, and with the growth of industry and commerce there is developing a strong desire for settled government and for all those conditions which make progress possible. For many years the Republic has attracted large numbers of immigrants, the Italians in particular finding it a desirable field for new enterprises. Education is carefully fostered and encouraged, for not only are children from six to fourteen years of age required to attend school, but a number of secondary schools and several normal schools are maintained by the general Government. There are also colleges and two universities.

The Constitution of the Republic is liberal, and is modelled very closely after that of the United States. The President, who serves six years and who cannot be reëlected, is chosen indirectly by a body of electors. He must belong to the Roman Catholic Church. There are two parliamentary Houses, as there are, theoretically at least, in every South American State. The senators are elected for nine years, each state of the Republic choosing two through its Legislature, and two being chosen from the capital by a special body of electors. Senators must have an income of two thousand dollars, though they and the members of the Chambers of Deputies are paid

for their services. The Deputies are chosen for four years directly by the people. Each state has also its own separate government, consisting of a legislature and of a governor who is not appointed by the central authorities, as the prefects of departments are in France, but is voted for directly by the people. The Roman Catholic is the State religion, but all creeds are tolerated. The population numbers about four millions, but is rapidly increasing.

Bolivia

Agitated by almost unceasing revolutions, Bolivia has made but little progress since it became a distinct and independent nation in 1825. For this has been one of the most restless of all the perturbed and unsettled South American Republics. For a long time it did succeed in keeping its credit good and avoiding a foreign debt; but after it passed under the rule of President Melgarejo in 1865, its finances became seriously disordered, and the disastrous conflict with Chili, in 1879 and 1880, made its condition still worse. As a result of the war it was obliged to mortgage its coast territory, having an area of 29,910 square miles, to Chili, and it thus lost control of its nitrate beds, which had been an important source of wealth to the country, and was also deprived of all access to the sea. But in 1896 Chili agreed to give it a seaport if it would permanently surrender the mortgaged district.

The President of Bolivia is elected for six years by a direct vote of the people, but he cannot be reëlected for the term that immediately follows his own. The members of the Senate are chosen for six years by direct suffrage, and those of the Chamber of Deputies for four years in the same manner. The suffrage belongs to all who can read and write. The Roman Catholic is the religion of the State, but all forms of worship are tolerated.

Such is Bolivia's scheme of government; but its democratic Constitution seems to have little influence upon the politics of the country. Not the suffrages of the people, but the strong hand and the sword, appoint the nation's executive. Even as the century draws to its end,[1] Bolivia is the scene of a formidable insurrection against the government.

[1] This was the condition of affairs at the beginning of 1899.

Brazil

After John VI. of Portugal had returned to his own country (p. 117), his eldest son, Dom Pedro, was chosen Perpetual Defender of Brazil. On September 7, 1822, he proclaimed the independence of the country, and on October 12 of the same year he was made Constitutional Emperor and Perpetual Defender. Not without a struggle did Portugal relinquish her hold upon her South American province; but her forces were defeated on land and sea by the Brazilians, and before the end of the year 1823 the independence of Brazil was fairly established.

But the newly constituted Emperor found it a difficult task to govern his wide-reaching domains. Opposed to liberal principles, he ruled autocratically and excited the antagonism of the Republicans all over the Empire. As his troops were defeated by the forces of the Argentine Confederation, and as the finances of the country were in a very unsound condition, he grew more and more unpopular, and finally abdicated in 1831 and sailed for Portugal, after naming his son, Dom Pedro, the heir apparent of the throne. Dom Pedro was at this time only five years old, and the country was placed under a regency, which was republican in its character. But this Government failed to establish order, and in 1840 Dom Pedro was declared of age in order that rebellion and intrigue might be brought to an end. For nearly fifty years Dom Pedro maintained his sway, and he proved a liberal and progressive ruler. During his reign the slave-trade was abolished, and steps were taken to bring slavery itself to an end by gradual emancipation. Moreover, the wealth of the Empire steadily increased, trade and commerce were developed, new enterprises were promoted, and education was encouraged. But the Empire was out of harmony with its surroundings. The other South American countries were Republics at least in name, and the people of Brazil grew restless under monarchical rule. Accordingly, they rose against the government in 1889, forced Dom Pedro and his family to sail for Europe, and proclaimed a Republic. On February 24, 1891, a new Constitution was adopted and a republican form of government was established. This Constitution was formally adopted by the

Constituent Assembly in February of the following year; but the country did not secure peace and quiet by proclaiming democratic institutions. On the contrary, it has of recent years been the seat of conspiracy, insurrection, and petty warfare, and steady progress has been impossible. Yet its population has been increasing, its industries have been developed, and the interest on its foreign debt has usually been paid, though not without serious effort.

By the provisions of the Constitution adopted in 1891 the President is elected for six years by an electoral college. Both senators and deputies are chosen by direct vote of the people, the former for nine years and the latter for three. The franchise belongs to all persons not under twenty-one years of age, who are not beggars, illiterate, soldiers in active service, or members of monastic orders under vows of obedience. The Republic comprises twenty states, each of which must, by the Constitution, be organized under a republican form of government, and have its administrative, legislative, and judicial authorities distinct and independent. There is no recognized state religion, all forms of worship being on an equality. Primary education, though controlled by the governments of the individual states and not by the central Government, is made gratuitous by the Constitution.

Brazil is nearly as large as the United States including Alaska, having an area of 3,218,182 square miles. Its population is about 17,500,000.

Chili

The independence of Chili was secured by the decisive battle of Maipo, which was fought on April 5, 1818. Soon afterward a government was formed, and Chili took its place among the nations of the world. For about fifteen years its political affairs were in great confusion, as its rulers assumed dictatorial powers, and one administration followed another in rapid succession. But in 1833 the present Constitution of the country was framed and promulgated, and since that time Chili has almost continuously enjoyed the blessings of firm and stable government. Its presidents have usually administered its affairs with wisdom; its credit has been good with foreign nations; its legislation has been enlightened and pro-

gressive. But in 1886 an unscrupulous man, named Don José Manuel Balmaceda, was elevated to the presidency, and so despotically did he govern that Chili soon became the theatre of a desperate and bloody civil war. On the first of January, 1891, Congress pronounced Balmaceda guilty of treason to the Constitution, deposed him from his office, and named Señor Jorge Montt as its assistant in its endeavors to make the authority of the Constitution paramount. This decree Balmaceda resisted, and, though the navy supported Congress, the army remained faithful to him, and thus he was able to defy the power of Congress for several months. The contest was not settled until Balmaceda's party had been defeated in two fiercely fought battles. But finally, realizing that further resistance was useless, Balmaceda committed suicide on December 19, 1891; and on November 4 of the same year Jorge Montt was elected President.

This deplorable and sanguinary struggle is hardly to be classed with the revolutionary outbreaks that have convulsed the greater portion of Spanish America for three quarters of a century. It arose through the efforts of Congress to set aside a tyrannical ruler, and when it was ended, law and order were reëstablished, and the civil strife was seen to have been an unusual episode in the history of the country, not the beginning of anarchy and political turmoil. Since Balmaceda's death the country has been as well governed as it was in the long period that preceded his rise to power. In the honesty with which it meets its obligations, in the sobriety of its legislation, and in its capacity for intellectual and material progress, Chili compares favorably with the enlightened countries of to-day. At the same time it must be admitted that its prosperity and the settled character of its government have been due to the ascendency of a class rather than to the free and orderly working of republican institutions. For Chili is in the hands of a landed aristocracy, whose members have monopolized the powers granted by the Constitution. The State, therefore, is not a democracy, but a strongly organized and centralized oligarchy.[1] Accordingly, it must not be supposed that even in this well-ordered Spanish-American country the supreme law of the land is fully obeyed either in letter or

[1] Spanish-American Manual for 1891.

spirit. We are not to be surprised, then, that the President sometimes names his own successor, though he is supposed to be chosen for five years, indirectly, by a body of electors. The Constitution itself secures the election of the wealthier class to the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies; for the senators, whose term is six years and who are chosen indirectly by the provinces, receive no salary and must have an income of two thousand dollars a year or its equivalent; while the deputies, who serve for three years, also receive no salary and must possess property that yields them an equivalent of five hundred dollars a year. The deputies are supposed to be elected by the direct vote of the people in the provinces, but the vote is not always a fair expression of the popular will. There are no provincial legislatures, as the Government is too highly centralized to share its authority with the powers that might interfere with its full control. All who are twenty-one years of age and can read and write have the right to vote. The Roman Catholic is the religion supported by the State, but entire freedom of worship is allowed. Both elementary and higher education are provided by the Government without charge.

Colombia

The old Spanish viceroyalty of New Granada made a part of the Colombian Confederation until that organization was dissolved in 1832. Becoming then a separate Republic, it kept the name of New Granada until 1858, when it was changed into a confederation of eight states under the title of the Confederation Granadina. But this political arrangement was short-lived. In 1863 a new federal Constitution was adopted, and the State was now known as the United States of Colombia. In 1886, however, it took the name of the Republic of Colombia, which it still retains. As these changes would suggest, the country has had its full share of insurrections and civil disturbances; and such progress as it has made has been accomplished during those rarely recurring periods when quiet has been maintained by an unusually able ruler. In the last two decades of the century there have been several uprisings of a formidable character, and the government forces have not always been able to hold their own against the insurgents. But the population of the country

is increasing, its mineral and agricultural resources are vast, and its import and export trade, though varying greatly from year to year, shows a tendency to expand. Under settled conditions its industries must have an immense development. Following the example of other South American countries, Colombia adopted in 1863 a Constitution very much like that of the United States. But in 1886 this Constitution was set aside in favor of one which was less truly republican in character. For the nine States which had made up the Republic were deprived of their sovereignty and made into mere departments, each under the control of a governor nominated by the President. Thus the principle of centralization has received the same recognition here that it has in France, where the President appoints the prefects of the departments. The President of Colombia is chosen for six years by electoral colleges. The members of the Senate are appointed for six years by the governors of the departments without much regard to the popular will; those of the House of Representatives are elected by universal suffrage for four years. The State recognizes the Roman Catholic religion, but permits all forms of worship. It has done much to encourage education, public instruction having been taken from the hands of the clergy in 1870 and placed under the control of the Government, a reform in the school system being at the same time carried out. But primary education, though gratuitous, is not compulsory.

The area of Colombia is a little above 500,000 square miles, and its population numbers about 4,000,000.

Ecuador

The Republic of Ecuador came into existence on May 11, 1830, through the disruption of the Colombian Federation. Like the other Spanish States of South America, it attempted to establish a republican form of government, and to that end adopted a Constitution; but so much power was placed in the hands of the President as to render him a despot rather than the head of a free State. For he could arrest and imprison without trial all persons whom he considered dangerous to the State. This power was unscrupulously used by various presidents, and for many years the political history of Ecuador was

chiefly distinguished by petty tyranny, intrigue, reactionary measures, and consequent revolutions. Dr. Gabriel Garcia Moreno, who was made President by the Conservatives in 1861, made himself conspicuous by his opposition to progress and education, and by his subserviency to a narrow and bigoted priesthood. More than once forced to retire from office, he reinstated himself by force or by underhand measures; but he was assassinated in 1875. Before his death the President's power to imprison on suspicion was taken away; and in spite of its corrupt and unsettled political condition Ecuador has made some progress in education and in material prosperity. But it is still one of the most backward and poorly governed States of South America. No later than 1895 it was the scene of an insurrection, as a result of which General Alfaro was made dictator and afterward elected President.

The President is elected for four years directly by the people. There are two Congressional Houses: the Senate, composed of two members for each province, who are elected for four years, and a Chamber of Deputies, whose members are chosen for two years. The right to vote belongs to all male adults who can read and write, and who belong to the Roman Catholic Church.

Paraguay

None of the South American countries have been more unfortunate than this small, but rich and fertile State. From 1814 to 1840 it was under the rule of Dr. José G. R. Francia, who assumed the power of a dictator and governed as a despot. After his death there was an interregnum of two years, at the end of which time two of his nephews, Mariano Roque Alonso and Don Carlos Antonio Lopez, were chosen Consuls of the Republic. And in 1844 a new Constitution was adopted by Congress, and Don Carlos Antonio Lopez was elected sole President. This position he retained until 1862, when his son, Don Francisco Solano Lopez, succeeded him and soon brought the country into a desolating war with Brazil, Uruguay, and the Argentine Republic. The struggle lasted for five years, and when it ended with the death of Lopez in 1870, Paraguay had lost a large portion of its population and was in an utterly impoverished and prostrate condition. However, it

proclaimed a new Constitution and made an earnest effort to establish order and regain prosperity. For many years its gains were slow, but in the last decade of the century it took its place among the growing and progressive South American countries. Possessing vast natural resources and favored with an excellent climate, it showed great recuperative energy, and its trade and population increased from year to year. Since the death of Lopez it has been little troubled with revolutions.

Paraguay has an area of 98,000 square miles, and a population of about 500,000. The President is elected for four years by an electoral college, and eight years must then pass before he can be chosen a second time. The members of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies sit respectively for six years and for four years, and are chosen directly by the people.

Peru

Peru has not had a fortunate history since its independence was established in 1824. For twenty years it was torn by civil strife and subjected to the despotic rule of military presidents who believed that they could solve the problems of government by an appeal to the sword. In 1845 began a long period of progress and prosperity which lasted, with only one or two short interruptions, for thirty-five years. During this time the Constitution was remodelled and put, as to essentials, in its present form; slavery was abolished; the Indians were released from paying tribute; and many internal improvements were made, though not without an enormous increase of the public debt. From 1872 to 1876 the country was under the administration of Don Manuel Pedro, who governed it with such wisdom and integrity that his memory is still cherished by the Peruvian people.

But in 1879 began another season of calamity and disaster. For in that year Peru and Bolivia were drawn into a war with Chili toward which events had long been leading, but which found them poorly prepared. The difficulty arose over a strip of land on the sea-coast to which Chili and Bolivia both laid claim.[1] To enforce her claims Chili declared war upon Bolivia,

[1] It is believed by many that Chili was the aggressor in this war, but this view is hardly borne out by the facts of the case. Chili claimed that her

and as Peru had formed an offensive and defensive alliance with the latter country, she was forced to take part in the struggle.

But the armies of Peru and Bolivia proved to be no match for those of Chili; nor was the Peruvian navy able to cope with the Chilian warships. Consequently, after a sanguinary and wasting conflict, the disputed tract was ceded to Chili,[1] and peace was made on October 20, 1883. But this encroachment upon her boundaries was not the worst result which Peru experienced from the war. For the bitter and savage conflict engendered a spirit of lawlessness which was not suppressed for many years. One insurrection followed another, and the Government found it almost impossible to establish its authority. Order was however at last restored, and the country is now endeavoring to regain its lost prosperity and to heal the

territory extended to the twenty-third parallel of latitude, and this claim was not disputed by Bolivia until copper mines and rich deposits of guano were found between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth parallels. Bolivia then claimed that the twenty-fourth parallel was Chili's northern boundary; and it was not until Chili had made large concessions with a view to adjusting the dispute that she finally resorted to war. In 1879 the French minister at Chili made a report to his Government upon the war between Peru and Chili, and quoted a diplomatic note of the prefect of Antofagasta as fairly expressing the attitude of the Chilian Government in its controversy with the other two powers. A portion of the note (as translated from the Spanish by the French minister) reads: "Le gouvernement du Chili ne peut voir dans la Bolive qu'un pays frère et ami, avec lequel il veut maintenir toujours et resserrer les relations les plus cordial du fraternité, et fera tous les efforts en son pouvoir afin que la paix et l'amitie existant jusqu'à ce jour ne soient pas troublées." The causes of the quarrel are also discussed in "Historia de la Guerrade America entre Chile, Peru y Bolivia," por Don Tomas Caivano, Ch. I., pp. 19–47; and in "Histoire de la Guerre du Pacifique," par Diego Barras Arana, published in Paris in 1882, and reviewed at length in the *Nation*, 34: 361.

[1] Tarapaca, the southern province in the disputed tract, was ceded to Chili "unconditionally and forever." Tacna and Arica, the provinces immediately to the north of Tarapaca, were to be held by Chili for ten years, and at the end of that time the inhabitants of the two provinces were to decide by a plebiscite whether they wished to make a part of Peru or of Chili, it being agreed that the country which obtained them should pay the other $10,000,000. The plebiscite was never held, owing to political disturbances in Peru; but it became apparent that the people of Tacna and Arica were overwhelmingly in favor of belonging to Peru, and Chili showed herself ready to give them up whenever Peru could guarantee the payment of the $10,000,000. It was also agreed that Peruvian creditors should receive fifty per cent from the sale of the guano beds, though Chili should have exclusive rights to new deposits discovered in the ceded territory. Bureau of American Republics, Bulletin No. 60, p. 27; "Annual Register" and "Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia" for 1895 and succeeding years.

wounds inflicted by crushing defeat and distracting civil strife. But, though it is making progress, its recovery is slow.

The executive power of Peru is vested in a President, who is chosen for four years indirectly. The legislative power belongs to a Senate and a House of Representatives. The members of each House are chosen indirectly by electoral colleges for a term of six years. The State religion is the Roman Catholic, and the law does not countenance any other form of public worship, though the rule is not strictly enforced. Elementary education is free and compulsory.

Uruguay

Securing its independence in 1828, Uruguay adopted a republican Constitution two years later; but the country showed itself utterly unequal to the task of self-government. For seventy years its history has been a record of insurrection, foreign warfare, political corruption, and financial embarrassment. As late as 1898 the country was disturbed by a revolutionary conspiracy and by a revolt of two regiments of the army, who seized the arsenal at Montevideo, the capital, and resisted the Government so strongly that the city was declared to be in a state of siege. Order was only established by a proclamation of amnesty by which the ringleaders were allowed to leave the country unmolested. These frequent outbreaks have prevented good government, and the debt of the country has been enormously increased in recent years by corrupt and extravagant administration of the national finances. In 1885 the public debt amounted to $55,537,000; at the end of 1897 it stood at $120,765,000.[1]

It is only by an abuse of language that such a country as Uruguay can be termed a republic; yet the Constitution of 1828 provides for a republican form of government. The suffrage is bestowed upon all who can read and write. The President and the senators are chosen indirectly, for four and six years respectively. The members of the Chamber of Representatives are elected for three years directly by the people. All religions are tolerated, but the Roman Catholic is that of the State. Primary education is compulsory. The country

[1] "Current History," 8:926.

has an area of 72,110 square miles, which is about that of the State of Nebraska, and a population of from 400,000 to 500,000. It contains deposits of gold, silver, copper, and other minerals, and has a soil of remarkable fertility.

Venezuela

Becoming an independent Republic in 1829, Venezuela chose Paez to be its first President. The country prospered under his liberal and progressive rule,[1] and for nearly twenty years it suffered little from political upheavals. General Monagas headed a rebellion against the Government in 1831, but he was soon suppressed; nor did another outbreak, which occurred in 1835 and lasted into the following year, succeed in destroying the Constitution. It was Paez who crushed both of these insurrections. But after serving as President for the second time from 1839 till 1843, he himself took the field against the Government in 1848, having become alarmed at the attempts to subvert the Constitution and to rule as dictator rather than as president. Monagas, however, proved too strong for his old opponent. After a short struggle Paez and his adherents were completely routed, and Paez himself was captured and put in prison, where his treatment was unpardonably severe. Being released in May, 1850, he went to New York; and though twice afterward he returned to Venezuela, he found that he was unable to quiet dissension there, and he finally returned to New York to end his days. His death occurred on May 6, 1873.

The disturbances which drove Paez from the country continued until the latter part of 1870. They grew out of the fundamental disagreement of the Unionists and the Federalists, which was like that of the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists in the early days of the United States. The Unionists desired to establish a strong central government; the Federalists aimed to secure the sovereignty of the separate States; and, finding an able leader in Don Guzman Blanco,

[1] During the administration of Paez, laws were passed "subjecting persons accused of treason to the ordinary civil jurisdiction, establishing freedom of worship, abolishing the monopoly of tobacco, and abolishing tithes." — "Documents relating to the Public Life of Paez," p. 36.

they finally triumphed over their opponents. From December, 1870, until February, 1873, Blanco ruled the country, nominally as President, but really as dictator. Having quieted the country by his firm exercise of power, he became its legitimate constitutional President for four years. His term expired in 1877, but twice afterward he was reëlected, and gave the country the benefits of a progressive and efficient administration.

Blanco's excellent rule, however, did not secure settled order and general recognition of the principles of self-government. During recent years Venezuela has been the scene of serious political disturbances, which culminated in a formidable insurrection against the Government in 1899. The uprising was headed by General Guerra, who found numerous adherents in the mountain districts, while the cities for the most part were loyal to the rule of President Andrade. At first General Guerra met with scant success, and, after being severely defeated by the government troops, was obliged to flee into Colombia. But he proved to be a very stubborn antagonist; for, rallying his forces, he routed the armies of the Government, and in October, 1899, he succeeded in driving President Andrade from his capital. Such occurrences show that the country of Paez has not yet learned the true nature of republican institutions.

Venezuela's difficulties with Great Britain over the frontier question never had any great intrinsic importance; they assumed a fictitious importance through the firm stand taken by the United States Government against Great Britain's supposed encroachments upon the territory of a weaker power. How the matter was referred to arbitration has already been related (pp. 320, 460). The Commission which was appointed to settle the difficulty met at Paris in June, 1899. Professor F. Martens of the University of St. Petersburg was its president; two representatives of the United States and two of Great Britain served with him on the Commission. The case for Venezuela was presented chiefly by United States counsel, of whom ex-President Harrison was the most distinguished, while eminent English lawyers sustained Great Britain's position in the controversy. For nearly four months the Commission listened to the opposing arguments and deliberated over the question, and finally gave its decision early in October. Some-

what to the disappointment of those Americans who had accused Great Britain of unfair dealing in the matter, the decision was largely in favor of that power. For Great Britain was allowed to retain a very considerable portion of the gold fields to which Venezuela laid claim, and which had been a chief cause of the dispute between the two countries.

By the Constitution promulgated in 1893 Venezuela is a federative Republic, under the executive authority of a President who is chosen indirectly for four years. But that the President is often in reality a dictator has already been made apparent. It has also been shown that the members of the Senate are appointed by the departmental governments and not in accordance with democratic principles. The members of the House of Representatives are elected for four years by direct and universal male suffrage. The State religion is the Roman Catholic. The adherents of other faiths are not allowed to worship in public, though the rule is not strictly enforced. Elementary education is free and compulsory; and illiteracy, which was general a generation ago, is steadily diminishing. Venezuela has an area of more than 5,500,000 square miles and a population of about 2,500,000.

BOOK V

UNCLASSIFIED COUNTRIES

LIBERIA
HAITI
SANTO DOMINGO

JAPAN
INDIA
SIAM

CHAPTER I

LIBERIA

The Republic of Liberia had rather a philanthropic than a political origin. Very early in the century certain benevolent Americans, among whom were Clay, Madison, and Bushrod Washington, undertook to provide a home for freedmen and other negroes, and the American Colonization Society was the outcome of their efforts. Conceived in 1811 and formally organized at Princeton College in 1816, the Society sent two agents to the west coast of Africa in 1817 to find a suitable location for the proposed Colony. The agents selected Sherbro Island, and here a band of eighty-eight colonists settled in 1820. Not finding the spot as desirable as they had supposed it to be, they transferred themselves to the continent in 1822, and established a small settlement at Cape Mesurado. As the Colonization Society continued its labors, the number of these original settlers was gradually swelled, and altogether eighteen thousand persons were sent from America to join them. For many years, however, the colonists remained under the Society's control; for, though certain rights of government were conferred upon them in 1824, and a Constitution giving them larger powers was granted them in 1828, the Society reserved to itself the final authority in all matters of importance. It was not until 1847 that the Colony acquired complete independence, and became a Republic. That its people were fitted for this new dignity was not clearly apparent; but England objected to the duty on imports which the colonists imposed, and the only way by which the colonists could carry their point was to acquire the rights of a free self-governing state. Accordingly, on July 26, 1847, the Colony, acting under the advice of the Society in America, declared itself an independent state.

For ten years previous to this event it had been governed by Joseph J. Roberts, a negro of unusual intelligence, who had administered affairs so ably and discreetly that he was now chosen President of the newly constituted Republic. No longer acting as the agent of the Colonization Society, but able to shape his own policy, he showed great efficiency and diplomatic skill. He made Liberia respected along the West African coast, advanced its boundaries, and waged successful war with native tribes who disputed his authority. But, more than all this, he obtained foreign recognition for his country by visiting the capitals of Europe and presenting its claims with dignity and address. So favorable was the impression which he made, and so energetic was his administration of affairs, that the early years of the Republic were full of promise and excited much favorable comment. In 1855 an English writer declared that the "Republic of Liberia has already taken an honorable place among the nations of the earth";[1] and American writers were equally enthusiastic in their appreciation of the black man's commonwealth.[2]

But such commendation sprang from generous sentiment rather than from adequate knowledge of facts. At the time when the Republic was established, and for some years afterward, the abolition movement was at its height in the United States. Indignant over the wrongs and sufferings of the negro, many people in the Northern States exaggerated his capacities and idealized his achievements. They expected much from Liberia, and they estimated results by their expectations. Hence, for some years after the close of the Civil War, they took a roseate view of the growth, development, and prospects of the black man's Republic. But gradually the world discovered that Liberia was not a growing, progressive, and well-ordered State. Roberts retired from the chief magistracy[3] after serving for several terms; and his successors were by no means equal to him in energy and ability. Nor did the Republic attract as many colonists as had been expected. In 1857 it increased its extent and population by uniting with Maryland, a negro Republic to the east of Palmas, which had been

[1] *London Quarterly*, 4: 507.
[2] *North American Review*, 125: 147 and 517.
[3] He retired in 1857, but he was again elected in 1871.

founded by people in Maryland in 1821. But the negroes of America have shown little inclination to leave the United States in order to share the doubtful advantages of living under a black man's government. That Liberia would have prospered if it had received a much larger infusion of Afro-American blood cannot be asserted with any confidence. The negro in the United States has shown greater aptitude for political corruption than for enlightened citizenship. But certainly Liberia has languished, its political life having grown feeble, and the civilized part of its population seeming unable to hold its own resolutely against the great mass of surrounding barbarism.[1] Of its 1,068,000 people only about 18,000 are of Americo-African descent; and only 4000 or 5000 children are to be found in the schools. The wealth of the country does not increase and its trade is not expanding. The annual revenues, which are derived almost entirely from customs duties, are hardly sufficient to meet the annual expenditure, still less to pay the interest on the country's indebtedness. English capitalists advanced £100,000 to Liberia in 1871, but no interest on this amount was paid after 1874.

The Constitution of Liberia is modelled after that of the United States. All males who are of age and own real estate have the right of suffrage, and the elections are conducted by ballot. The executive is vested in a President, who is chosen for two years. The legislative branch of the government consists of a Senate, whose members are elected for four years, and a House of Representatives, whose members are elected for two. Liberia extends 500 miles along the coast, and has an area of 14,360 square miles.

[1] Some of the native tribes, notably the Mandingoes, are spirited and intelligent.

CHAPTER II

THE REPUBLIC OF HAITI

Liberia is not the only black man's state that owes its origin to America, for the negroes of Haiti first acquired the love of freedom from the American Revolution.

Their masters were French planters; for the French gained possession of the western portion of the island of Santo Domingo in the earlier half of the seventeenth century, when the Spaniards abandoned it for the more alluring fields of Mexico and South America. Out of this bloodless conquest the French made a prosperous Colony, and, bringing slaves from Africa, they held them in subjection for more than a century. But when they bore aid to their American allies in the Revolutionary War, they unwisely took their slaves with them to participate in the struggle for freedom; and the negroes thus acquired a love of liberty which they never lost. They returned indeed to Haiti when the war for independence was over, and still rendered obedience to their masters. But they were discontented, and their discontent soon found opportunity for expression. The French planters revolted against the home Government, and the whites on the island who remained loyal called on the slaves to help them put down the insurrection. Only too eagerly did the blacks respond to the call. They rushed into the conflict as tigers leap upon their prey, and, once tasting blood, they waged war more like demons than human beings. Haiti soon became a wild scene of conflagration, rapine, and bloodshed; and though the negroes were for a time kept under restraint by that remarkable man, Toussaint L'Ouverture, they finally drove the French entirely out of the island.[1]

[1] The brutality of the war between the French and the blacks under Dessalines is shown in Marcus Rainsford's "Black Empire of Haiti" (published in 1805). See pp. 337–339.

It could not be expected that independence thus gained would be wisely used. The negroes were free, but they were also coarse, ignorant, sensual, and brutish; and self-government was a term that conveyed no meaning to them. For a time, therefore, they submitted to the tyrants of their own race, who governed them with despotic rigor and cruelty. Dessalines was one of the most notorious of these rulers. The governments thus established were variously termed empires, monarchies, and constitutional presidencies; but these names had little or no significance. Whatever the ruler was called, he was in fact a despot, whose qualifications for governing were native vigor and animal courage, and who maintained himself in power by the fear which he inspired. From 1822 until 1843 Santo Domingo, the eastern half of the island, was united with Haiti, and the State thus constituted was called the Republic of Haiti. But Santo Domingo revolted in 1844, and from this time on the two portions of the island had each its separate government.

But even under these adverse conditions the blacks of Haiti found freedom a stimulus to growth. They have not learned to appreciate the full responsibilities of self-government, for nearly all their rulers have been assassinated or driven out of the country. But they have retained their vigor instead of growing indolent and degenerate, and they have acquired some respect for law and some appreciation of education. Their present Constitution, which was drawn up in 1867, has many excellent features; and, if its provisions could be enforced, it would give the country an enlightened and satisfactory government. For it guarantees freedom of religious worship, trial by jury, and entire freedom of speech; it makes primary education compulsory; and it provides for a system of government which would make the country a true republic if it could be established and maintained. For it vests the executive power in a President who is to be elected by the people, and the legislative power in a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Senate is to be composed of thirty-nine members who are nominated for six years by the House of Representatives; the representatives are to be chosen directly for three years by all male citizens who have an occupation. In many respects, it is to be noticed, the Constitution recognizes French usage

and customs, the legal code being largely borrowed from the Code Napoleon, and the country being divided, like France, into departments, arrondissements, and communes.

Unfortunately, the country has not, even in the closing decade of the century, put this well-devised scheme of government into successful operation. Haiti has in recent years been the scene of sanguinary warfare between opposing factions, and has attracted attention chiefly by its feuds. But it is now quiet, and its condition is fairly prosperous. Certainly it may be said that the negroes of Haiti have been better off since they gained their freedom than they were under their French masters; and, with almost everything against them, they have yet kept alive a rude and imperfect civilization. That they are capable of maintaining a republican form of government may well be doubted; but the fact that they have made some progress, instead of retrograding like their brethren in Liberia, entitles them to the respect of the civilized world.

The population of Haiti is about 2,000,000, and its area 28,249 square miles. The exports of the country consist chiefly of coffee, cocoa, cotton, turtle shells, hides, mahogany, and logwood, and have a yearly value of about $13,000,000.

CHAPTER III

THE REPUBLIC OF SANTO DOMINGO

Although the French obtained possession of the western portion of the island of Santo Domingo in the seventeenth century, the eastern portion was under Spanish control until 1785. In that year the whole island was ceded to France; but in 1806, after the French had been driven out by the negroes, Spain once more gained possession of the eastern half and retained it for fifteen years. Even through the period when Mexico and South America were struggling for independence Spain maintained her authority in this island Colony. But the ultimate success of the revolutions near by at last made the Santo Domingoans discontented, and in 1821 they, too, declared themselves independent. At first they attached themselves to the newly established Republic of Colombia and organized their own government, which was also republican in character, under its flag and authority; but they soon decided to unite with the neighboring state in the western portion of the island. So for twenty years there was but one government in the whole island of Santo Domingo.

This union, however, was not a natural one. The Haitians are blacks, being almost entirely of African descent, and speak the French language; the Santo Domingoans are mostly mulattoes and speak Spanish, though French and English are used extensively in the cities. Accordingly, the Santo Domingoans grew more and more determined to work out their own political destiny; and in 1844 they revolted and set up their own separate government, which they called the República Dominicana. Ever since then the two States have remained, not only separate, but hostile; and so frequently do they wage war upon each other that the middle portion of the island,

where their conflicts occur, has remained an uninhabitable wild.

The independence thus secured by Santo Domingo was not to continue unassailed, for the Republic was forced to acknowledge Spain's supremacy in 1861, when the United States was prevented by civil war from interfering. But the Spanish usurpation was terminated in 1865, and Santo Domingo has ever since maintained its independence. In 1869 it endeavored to become a part of the United States, but the Senate of that country voted against annexation, and the little Republic was obliged to struggle on alone.

Santo Domingo has great agricultural and mineral resources, but lacks the energy and vigor to develop them. The mulattoes of the country are intelligent and not vicious, but they are much more indolent than the blacks of Haiti, and are not on the road to prosperity and progress. Both the Government and the people seem feeble and inefficient. By the Constitution the executive power is vested in a President, who is chosen for four years by an electoral college, and the legislative in a single Chamber of twenty-two deputies who are directly elected by a restricted suffrage. For purposes of local administration the country is divided into ten districts, each of which is under a governor appointed by the President. The Roman Catholic religion is recognized by the State, and other forms of worship can be practised only under certain restrictions. Primary education is by statute free and compulsory, and higher educational institutions have been established. Trade languishes on account of the customs duties, which are excessively high; but the exports of tobacco, coffee, hard woods, and other articles have a yearly value of about $2,000,000, and the national income is usually sufficient to meet the expenditure. The population of the country is about 600,000, and its area is a little more than 18,000 square miles.

CHAPTER IV

JAPAN

The Japanese are probably a mixed race. Koreans, Malays, and other surrounding peoples are supposed to have made their way into the islands that compose Japan, and to have become mingled with the aboriginal race. This race may at one time have covered the whole of the islands; but it was crowded northward by an invading people that entered from the southwest, and its descendants are, it is conjectured, now represented chiefly by the Aino tribes of Yezo. The invading race, whatever may have been its origin, centred about Kioto, in the southwestern part of the island of Honshu, and built up an empire whose head was termed the Mikado. Kioto was the Mikado's home. Surrounded by his nobles and retainers, he lived there in a simple and unpretentious manner and gradually extended his power. As the aborigines or savages gave him much trouble, he was obliged to exalt the military class above the agricultural, and to give a large measure of authority to the Shogun, or general-in-chief. By the end of the eighth century of the Christian era the military had become the dominating class in the Empire; and from that time on its power increased, while that of the Mikado seemed to wane. Almost inevitably, therefore, the time came when the general was able to make his authority supreme. It was Yoritomo, a man of great energy and ability, who brought about the change. In 1192 he was made Shogun by the Emperor Takahu; and from that time on until 1868 the Shogunate was of foremost importance in the Empire. By the end of the sixteenth century it had lost some of its prestige; but its power was restored by Iyéyasu Tokugawa, who was appointed to the office in 1603. This remarkable man, who was at once a crafty politician and a skilful general, fixed his seat of government at

Yedo, at the mouth of the rivers which drain the largest plain in Japan, enlarged and strengthened his authority, and made the office of Shogun hereditary in his family.

Under his successors Yedo became a great and populous city, and the power of the Tokugawa dynasty quite overshadowed that of the Mikado. The latter still maintained his court at Kioto and invested each Shogun in office; but, though nominally the sovereign of Japan, he never assumed the direct control of affairs. Hence the Shoguns of the Tokugawa line found it easy to consolidate their power. Iyéyasu himself had introduced the feudal system in Japan; his successors gradually and adroitly extended it, until the nobles were feudal vassals and the whole country was divided into fiefs. These fiefs, which were sometimes of considerable extent, were despotically ruled by the nobles, who treated the peasants as serfs and frequently subjected them to galling taxation. On the other hand, the members of the military class received many privileges, and were allowed to wear two swords as a mark of distinction.

This was the system that prevailed in Japan during the first half of the nineteenth century. It was not altogether a pernicious system, for it gave Japan two hundred and fifty years of peace and moderate prosperity. But it was doomed to extinction, for the people were growing restless under its exasperating restrictions. While it lasted, Japan was cut off from communication with other nations, for the policy of the Shogunate was one of utter isolation and seclusion. Foreigners were kept out of the country, new ideas were not allowed to take root, and the people were placed under a despicable system of espionage. But in thus declining to share the growth of the nineteenth century, the Shogunate brought about its own destruction. Its power was on the decline, and the Japanese only needed the stimulus of foreign intercourse to emancipate themselves from this deadening and repressive rule.

Consequently, the advent of Commodore Perry and his squadron in 1853 was not unwelcome to the more enlightened portion of the Shogun's subjects. The Shogun himself did not venture to repulse the representative of so formidable a power; and though Commodore Perry remained at the Japanese court

only a few days, the result of his visit was a commercial alliance between Japan and the United States, concluded on March 31, 1854. Seeing how easily the Shogunate had been forced to abandon its policy of exclusion, other nations followed the example of the United States, until sixteen had gained like privileges.

Thus Japan was brought once more within the pale of the nations, and the fall of feudalism was made inevitable. For the action of the Shogun in opening the country to foreigners was distasteful to the Mikado and his adherents, and soon brought about a deadly warfare between the court at Kioto and that at Yedo. As the daimios, or nobles, were quite generally opposed to foreign intercourse, the Mikado used this hostility to the Shogun to strengthen his own power. For centuries his predecessors had been subservient to the Shogunate; but he determined to reassert the imperial dignity and make himself the centre of authority and influence. Hence, his followers began to oppose the Shogun both secretly and openly, even resorting to the policy of assassinating his adherents that they might thus deprive him of support. Very soon, therefore, the Shogun found his position an uncomfortable one. For the great nobles carried their opposition to foreigners so far that they did not hesitate to inflict outrages upon the vessels of America and other nations. These outrages the Shogun was unable to stop, for the rebellious nobles were strong enough to defy his authority. Two of them, the Prince of Nagato and the Prince of Satsuma, were especially bold and insolent; and the damage they inflicted upon unarmed vessels was so serious that it became necessary to subjugate them by force. The former was temporarily brought to terms by a squadron of English, French, and American vessels, which bombarded his forts, July 15 to 19, 1863. But the Prince of Satsuma proved a more stubborn antagonist. Admiral Kuper of the British navy was directed to subdue him, and proceeded with his fleet to the bay of Kagoshima in the island of Kiusiu, where the Prince had a castle and other strong fortifications. As the Japanese had no thought of submitting to a mere display of force, the Prince's strongholds were bombarded by the English vessels on August 15 and 16, 1863, and were almost entirely destroyed. The loss of prop-

erty was estimated at $5,000,000 and about fifteen hundred of the Prince's followers were killed and wounded.

Cowed by this severe experience, the Prince of Satsuma ceased to annoy the vessels of other nations, but the anti-foreign party in Japan only gained in strength as a result of these hostilities, and the Prince of Nagato was inspired to commit further outrages. Moreover, the Shogun's government refused to fulfil its treaty obligations, and it therefore became necessary for the powers that had interests in Japan to overawe the Government by a display of force. Accordingly, an allied fleet, which represented Great Britain, France, and America, sailed in September, 1864, to the Straits of Shimonoseki and attacked the Prince of Nagato's forts. The forts returned the enemy's fire, but they were silenced after a spirited action which lasted for two days (September 5 and 6), and the Prince of Nagato granted all that was demanded by the powers. He agreed to open the Straits of Shimonoseki to foreign commerce and to treat foreigners civilly; and he even offered to open the ports upon his own territory for trade.

From this time on Japan fulfilled its treaty obligations and placed no serious obstructions in the way of foreign intercourse. But the Shogunate lost its prestige in this conflict with the powers, and the day of its downfall rapidly drew near. It had indeed shown itself weak and inefficient. First assuming relations with other nations, it tried to terminate them when they roused the antagonism of the Mikado and the nobles; but it left the nobles to do the actual fighting, and, when they were subdued, its own resistance came promptly to an end. Hence the Mikado's party grew in strength and favor, till it was able to set the Shogunate aside. This did not happen immediately after the close of the conflict with the powers. Even when the Shogun died, in 1866, his successor assumed the functions of office and maintained his Government at Yedo for nearly two years; for the Mikado, who was born in 1852, was too young at this time to be more than the nominal head of the Empire. But in 1868 the daimios rose in open rebellion against the Shogunate, and after several months of warfare they succeeded in establishing the Mikado as the sole reigning power in Japan. In November of this year he was proclaimed to be of age.

It was not as the champions of progress, but rather as reactionaries, that the Mikado and his party had gained control of his affairs, but the force of circumstances soon led them to adopt more liberal views. It became apparent to all that Japan could not long remain isolated from the world and enslaved by the traditions of the past.

Therefore an era of progress now began, and those political ideas which had been effecting revolutions all over the world began to take root in Japan.

As a first step toward a more enlightened policy the Mikado moved his court from Kioto, where his predecessors had lived in seclusion for so many centuries, and made Yedo his capital. Its name, however, was changed to Tokio, that it might not be a reminder of the days of the Shogunate. This step taken, new life seemed to enter the nation, and both foreign and domestic affairs were managed with energy and vigor. In 1874 the Government sent an expedition to Formosa to punish piracy, and in 1879 it annexed the Liu-Kiu Islands in despite of China's remonstrances and threats. Korea was also made to feel the strong hand of Japan; for when it violated its convention with the Japanese Government in 1875 and fired upon a Japanese gunboat, a high commissioner was sent into the country from Japan, and the Koreans were compelled to grant new and important concessions. Again, in 1882, Japan prepared to make war upon Korea, because eleven members of the Japanese legation were killed there in an anti-foreign insurrection. But this show of force was sufficient to bring Korea to terms, and, receiving such compensation as they demanded, the Japanese abandoned hostilities.

Even in Japan itself the Government found it necessary to assert its strength, for in 1877 several of the clans rose against the Ministry, and for some months maintained their defiant attitude. But they were finally suppressed, and with the establishment of order came the introduction of many reforms. The postal system was developed, lighthouses were erected, railways were put in operation, and a new criminal code was enforced. Education received special attention from the Government, which established a large number of primary schools and made attendance compulsory, while all the ports of the country were thrown open to foreign trade, and freedom of

worship was granted to all religions. Nor were military matters neglected; for a conscription law was passed in 1882, the army was reorganized, the navy strengthened, and an excellent scheme of coast defence was planned and executed. The whole nation seemed to be animated by the spirit of progress, and these manifold reforms, which brought Japan into touch with Europe and America, created a desire for democratic institutions. Accordingly, on February 11, 1889, the Mikado promulgated a new Constitution, which established two parliamentary Houses, the Lords and the Commons, and guaranteed full civil and religious liberty.

With the promulgation of this Constitution the first period in the history of modern Japan may be considered to end. It was a period of national awakening. The people suddenly threw off mediæval habits of mind, and looked to the advanced nations of the world for instruction and inspiration. Their university at Tokio employed scholars from abroad and published scientific works in English. Japanese students resorted to the great universities of England and America. Alphabetical writing was gradually adopted in place of ideographic, and even in matters of dress the Japanese began to borrow the ways and habits of Western civilization. Indeed, so rapid and quiet was the nation's advance that the period has been termed "Meiji," Enlightened Peace.

A more turbulent and exciting period was to follow this orderly epoch. During the last decade of the century Japan had to face war and to experience profound and significant political changes. It was now that the progress of the preceding decades bore its full fruitage and gave Japan a place among the vigorous nations of the world. For this island country was now to show that its armed strength was formidable, and that in its political development it would not stop short of government by and for the people.

It was in Korea, where Japan had formerly experienced trouble, that a cause for war was found. For a formidable insurrection against the King's government occurred in that country in 1894, and troops were sent there from Japan to protect the Japanese legation and consulates. At the same time the King of Korea, who acknowledged the suzerainty of China, applied to the Chinese Emperor for assistance, and

Chinese troops were accordingly sent to his support. This was a situation that invited disturbance; but trouble might have been avoided if the suggestions of Japan had been adopted. For the Japanese Government proposed that China and Japan should together reform the internal administration of Korea, and prevent further uprisings against the King. But China declined to coöperate toward this end, the Emperor declaring that the traditional policy of his country would not allow him to interfere with the internal affairs of a vassal state. Moreover, the King of Korea proved obdurate, for he refused to carry out any reforms unless the Japanese troops were withdrawn from his domains. As Japan would not accede to this proposition, the troops of the two nations remained in Korea in dangerous proximity, and only a spark was needed to kindle the smouldering embers of hostility into the conflagration of war.

Toward the end of June, 1894, the spark was lighted and war came. For the troops of the two nations came into collision on land, and on the sea a Chinese transport vessel containing 1500 soldiers was sunk by Japanese warships. In consequence of these actions war was immediately declared, and the progressive island State with its 40,000,000 people found itself engaged in deadly conflict with the oldest civilized power in the world. As China had a population of probably 400,000,000, its resources were supposed to be inexhaustible, and the ultimate defeat of Japan was widely predicted. But it soon became apparent that the Chinese Empire had little strength or solidity. Many portions of it gave the Emperor but a nominal allegiance, and, semi-barbarous as they were, were not able to supply the army with disciplined and well-armed troops. Accordingly, the forces which the Emperor could put in the field were not even superior to those of Japan in point of numbers, and in equipment, training, and fighting strength were decidedly inferior. To the surprise of the world, therefore, Japan was victorious on land from the very beginning of the war, and on the sea she also vanquished her antagonist, though not without severe and bloody conflicts. The battle off the Yalu River on September 17 was fiercely contested, and, though four Chinese warships were sunk outright, three of the Japanese vessels were badly damaged.

Later in the year the remainder of the Chinese fleet was hemmed in at Port Arthur by the Japanese ships, and on February 7, 1895, its commander, Admiral Ting, was forced to surrender, after losing two of his vessels. As the Japanese continued to be almost uniformly victorious on land, China found it useless to prolong the struggle, and a treaty of peace was signed on April 17, and ratified by the Emperor on the 4th of the following month. By the terms of the treaty China was to surrender the Liao-tung peninsula with Port Arthur to her victorious rival, but this advantage Japan was obliged to forego on account of the objections that were urged by Russia, Germany, and France. But she acquired Formosa and the Pescadores Islands, and compelled China to pay a large war indemnity and grant a new commercial treaty. Korea also profited by the war, for it was now made entirely independent of the Chinese Empire.

That the results of the war were not wholly beneficial to Japan the sequel was to show, but the concessions which China made brought some substantial advantages. For new ports were thrown open to Japan by the revised commercial treaty, and Japanese steam vessels were now allowed to navigate the Upper Yangtse-Kiang and Woosung rivers. From its fierce conflict, moreover, the nation derived important gains that were not of a material character; for it now felt a new sense of power, a greater self-confidence, and a strong craving for further progress. Japan now counted itself one of the vigorous and growing powers of the world, and it was anxious to put itself on an entire equality with other nations. Even before the war a number of reforms were under consideration, and some attempts had been made to carry them into effect. In particular, new treaties were arranged with Great Britain, the United States, and other countries, though they were not to become immediately operative. But, while the war lasted, the energy of the nation was directed toward military operations, and domestic legislation was comparatively neglected.

But when the war had been brought to a victorious issue, the needed reforms were loudly advocated. The question of local self-government was one of the first to receive attention, and was solved in a manner suggested by the experiences of democratic countries. For the Empire was divided into forty-six

districts, each of which had its own governor and its own elected assembly. But a more important question than that of local administration was that of responsible party government. When the new Constitution was adopted in 1889, Japan ceased to be an absolute monarchy; but absolute and despotic ideas of rule were not at once discarded by the Emperor and his immediate supporters. Like the King of Holland, the Emperor refused to recognize that the majority in a Parliament had a right to control the administration of affairs, and he therefore persisted in upholding the Prime Minister of his choice in spite of adverse votes in the House of Representatives. It was to the statesmen of the powerful Satsuma and Chosen clans that the government was intrusted; but the rival Hizen and Tosa clans commanded a large majority in the national Diet. If the representatives of these two clans could have worked together consistently against the Government, they would very soon have become masters of the situation. But this combination they found it difficult to make, for they represented two different political parties. The members of the Hizen clan counted themselves Progressives, and were under the leadership of Count Okuma; those of the Tosa clan were led by Count Itagaki and called themselves Liberals. Both the Progressives and the Liberals believed in party government; but, instead of making this the dominant political issue and coöperating to insure its triumph, they each looked for advancement and for advantageous political alliances. In November, 1895, the Liberals gave their support to Marquis Ito, the head of the Cabinet, and their leader, Count Itagaki, was accordingly admitted to a Cabinet position. But this action of the Liberals caused all the opponents of the Government to combine against it, and so formidable did this opposition prove that it forced the resignation of the Cabinet in August, 1896, the Marquis Ito and his ministers having become unpopular through lack of decision in dealing with affairs in Korea and Formosa. The opposition, therefore, now came into power, and in the new Cabinet, which was formed by Count Matsugata, Count Okuma, the Progressive leader, received a place. But the new Ministry was not in the end more successful than its predecessor had been. Abandoning the cause of party government which it had zealously advocated, it strove to

maintain itself in power through unprincipled alliances and a free use of the spoils system. But in spite of its efforts it was overthrown, and in January, 1898, the Marquis Ito returned to power.

These political changes had made it apparent to the Liberals and Progressives that they must unite if they would make themselves the dominant force in the politics of the country, and secure the triumph of the principle of party government. Moreover, a special reason for such coöperation was soon afforded; for the Marquis Ito, who had not attempted to strengthen his administration by a coalition, was defeated in June, 1898, and the House of Representatives was dissolved. Accordingly, the Liberals and Progressives now joined their forces,[1] and the Marquis Ito, seeing the uselessness of contending against such a powerful combination, resigned his office and recommended the Emperor to recognize the principle of party government and to intrust the task of forming a new Cabinet to Count Okuma and Count Itagaki. This advice the Emperor followed. Count Okuma was made Premier on June 28, 1898, and the cause of party government, which for nearly ten years had been struggling for recognition, seemed at last to have triumphed.

But its triumph proved to be of short duration. The new party, composed chiefly of Liberals and Progressives, adopted a platform in which it promised to support the popular demands for moderate taxation, the maintenance of the Emperor's authority and of the Constitution, the development of commerce and industry, and a peaceful foreign policy. Moreover, the platform distinctly stated that the Cabinet should represent the majority in the Lower House. But hardly had the Ministry begun to carry out this liberal programme before it encountered serious difficulties. It found itself called upon to oppose the spoils system, which had gained an unfortunate hold upon the minds of the Japanese politicians, and its own members soon showed a lack of harmony, the Liberals and the Progressives both standing jealously upon their rights. This jealous feeling manifested itself when it became necessary to appoint a new Minister of Education in

[1] The party formed by this fusion was called Kinsei-to, or Constitutional party.

the following October. M. Ozaki, who had been in charge of this bureau, was obliged to resign, because he had indiscreetly suggested that Japan might become a Republic. Thereupon Count Itagaki demanded that his place be filled by a Liberal; but Count Okuma went secretly to the Emperor and secured the appointment of M. Inukai, a member of his own party. Over this incident dissension at once arose in the Cabinet, and the disagreement was made greater by the financial situation. For it was necessary to increase the revenue, and the Liberals believed that this should be accomplished by a land tax, while the Progressives were opposed to such a measure and demanded that an additional tax should be placed on incomes, drugs, and spirits. So fierce did the dispute become that the Government lost all prestige and influence, and a new administration became necessary. On October 31 the ministers all tendered their resignations, and a new Cabinet, independent of parties, was formed by the Marquis Yamagata. Under his leadership the land tax was carried, though the Progressives still fought it bitterly, and left the House in a body when they saw that they were to be outvoted. Thus the first attempt at party government ended in failure, as might, indeed, have been anticipated by all who understood the conditions under which it was tried. Japan has outgrown feudal institutions, but it has not utterly cast off the feudal spirit. For many centuries the great clans have exercised a powerful and commanding influence over their retainers, and not all at once could the clansmen make personal loyalty subservient to political principle. The coalition of the Liberals and the Progressives ended in disaster, because those who composed it could not put away personal ends and petty ambitions for the sake of the larger cause to which they were pledged by their political platform. They regarded it as the politician in the United States regards financial reform and many desirable measures that do not bring promotion or emolument. Not by coalitions and combinations, therefore, will party government succeed in Japan, but by securing the uncompromising adherence of the statesmen and voters of the nation.[1]

This parliamentary failure was to some extent atoned for

[1] For an account of this interesting political experiment, consult "Parliamentary Government in Japan," in the *Nineteenth Century* for July, 1899.

in the following year by a gain in national dignity and by increased opportunities for trade. For on July 17, 1899, most of the commercial treaties which had been formed in 1894 became operative, and gave Japan new privileges, new influence, and new facilities for commercial growth and expansion. The old treaties, which had been negotiated before Japan had gained the respect of the world, were indeed most unsatisfactory both to foreigners and to the Japanese themselves. For they stipulated that foreign residents in Japan should be confined to certain open ports, outside of which they could not reside, own property, or engage in trade; and also that they should be amenable to the consul of their own country and should not be under Japanese jurisdiction. As a result of this system there were more than a dozen different courts in Japan before which foreigners who had committed offences were brought for trial; and even the quarantine laws, which the Japanese Government passed from time to time for the protection of its subjects, were for the most part ignored by other powers. Moreover, the foreign residents paid no taxes in Japan, as they considered that the country in which they lived and enjoyed special privileges had no authority over them. But under the new treaties these inequalities and injustices disappeared. The United States, Great Britain, and all the leading nations of continental Europe had formed treaties with Japan which put their own subjects who lived in that country on the same footing as the Japanese themselves. Hence, from this time on foreigners had the same privileges and the same obligations as Japanese citizens. They could no longer escape taxation, but they enjoyed new advantages in that the entire interior of Japan was now open to them for residence and trade.

Altogether, Japan has made remarkable gains since the overthrow of the Shogunate, but her national career has not been one of uninterrupted progress. Political reforms have not been accomplished without serious difficulty, and the spoilsman and the adventurer still stand in the way of an honest administration of affairs. New problems, moreover, are continually arising to tax the resources of the nation's statesmen. Formosa has not proved an unmixed gain to the country, for it is a difficult country to subjugate and hold;

nor was the stimulus derived from the war with China altogether an advantage. Flushed with military success, Japan negotiated foreign loans and expended large sums in increasing her armament; and yet found to her humiliation that the great powers would not consult her in settling the questions of the far East. Through these unwise expenditures the country became financially embarrassed, and in 1899 a panic seemed imminent. Taxation was oppressive, industries languished, and the new commercial treaties could not at once bring relief. The history of the past few decades warrants the belief that the nation will find a way out of its difficulties and will have a great and brilliant future. But strange are the vicissitudes of history, and who can say what the twentieth century will bring forth for this interesting island Empire?

Japan is made up of those islands which compose the archipelago of Niphon. Four large islands belong to the archipelago, Yezo, Honshu, Kiushiu, and Shikoku; and Formosa and the Pescadores Islands are also included in it, since they were ceded to Japan by China in 1895. Japan has an area of 150,000 square miles and a population of above 40,000,000. The Constitution adopted in 1889 vests the executive power in the Emperor and his ministers, and gives him also legislative power so far as may be sanctioned by the Diet. The Diet, or national Parliament, is, like the legislatures of most countries that have constitutional government, composed of two Houses, an Upper and a Lower. The Upper House is termed the House of Peers, and contains two distinct classes of members: (1) Peers elected for life, and (2) Peers elected for seven years. The life Peers include male members of the imperial family, princes and marquises above twenty-five years of age, and eminent citizens nominated by the Emperor. Of the elected Peers there are two classes, chosen in two entirely different ways. For the counts, viscounts, and barons of the Empire are respectively entitled to elect one fifth of their order, though the ones so elected must be above twenty-five years of age, while the various districts of the country are represented in the House of Peers by members who are chosen indirectly by the highest taxpayers. Altogether, the Peers number about three hundred members who are elected directly

by male citizens who are above twenty-five years of age, who pay a national tax of fifteen yen yearly, and who have resided in their districts for at least one year. The annual revenue of Japan is about $125,000,000 and its debt is a little less than $400,000,000. Its financial condition may be considered prosperous in spite of present embarrassments, for, owing to the rapid growth of its manufacturing industries, its imports tend to diminish and its exports to increase.

CHAPTER V

INDIA

Not having received a Constitution, India cannot be classed with those British Colonies which are experiencing an advanced political development. Yet is it true that the country is receiving no political development at all? An Oriental race, keen, fanciful, fiery, watchful, and vindictive, bows before the superior might of a great European power, and from that power it receives daily lessons in the methods of establishing order and justice throughout a vast domain. Does it profit by its lessons and is it acquiring the art of self-government? Or is it so bound hand and foot by the dominant race that it can only chafe and revile its masters even while it renders them obedience? These are the questions that suggest themselves to the students of British India, and they are not easily answered. It would be impossible to answer them fully in this brief survey, but some thoughts will be presented that may help toward a solution.

First of all, it is necessary to consider the government of India and see how far it recognizes the right of the Hindus to a voice in the management of their own affairs. At its head is the Governor-General, the chief executive authority, who represents the Crown. Assisted by a council of five or six members appointed by the Crown, he makes laws for all persons in the country, whether they be British, native, or foreign. The actual task of governing, however, falls chiefly upon the Secretary of State, who is assisted by a council of not less than ten members. Over all those portions of India that are strictly British territory this central Government, through its own appointed officials, exercises direct control. But there are feudatory States which are governed by their own native princes, ministers, or councils, with the help of a British resi-

dent official, who sees that the native heads do not overstep certain restrictions by which Great Britain's suzerainty is firmly maintained. Thus it appears that the central Government keeps a firm hold upon the whole country, while it gives to the native princes as much authority as they can safely be allowed to exercise.

But in local affairs and in the administration of justice the British Government gives a fuller recognition to the rights of the natives. For in 1882–84 Local Self-Government Acts were passed, which have so extended the franchise that the governing bodies of the towns are now largely made up of native Hindus, and while the high and superior courts of the country are in English hands, the magistrates and civil judges who exercise jurisdiction in the lower courts are also native to a very considerable extent.

Thus it appears that Great Britain does not govern its vast Indian dependency despotically, but endeavors to educate the Hindus in self-government by throwing upon them the task of managing their own local affairs and of controlling the lower and simpler processes of law and justice. A great change, indeed, has been effected in England's policy toward India since the control of the country was taken from the East India Company in 1858. While that control lasted, this vast and rich domain was governed in the interests of a few privileged Englishmen. Now, however, England's treatment of the Hindus is so liberal that the following characterization of it may be considered fairly correct:[1] "We give them opportunities for local self-government; we open to them appointments in the Indian Civil Service, and place on them all the responsibility they can bear. We do not expect to assimilate them or make them English; we offer them the opportunity for development in every way; we only deny them the power to oppress and misgovern one another."

Consequently, seeing the great and undoubted benefits of British rule, many intelligent and fair-minded Hindus are not discontented under this alien government. They believe that it must sometime cease, but consider its immediate overthrow undesirable; and they uphold it with hearty and ungrudging loyalty. And yet the country is full of malcontents, and the

[1] "English Imperialism," by William Cunningham, *Atlantic Monthly*, 84: 1.

British are as fiercely hated by some as they are cordially supported by others. Ever and anon do the great English newspapers comment upon the hostile tone of the native press in India, and intimate that it should be placed under restrictions. And it must be admitted that the Hindus have reason to dislike the foreign yoke they bear. For, however wisely they are governed, the fact remains that they are not their own masters, and are not making their own contribution to the civilization and progress of the world. Repressed and held in restraint by a stern and unsympathetic régime, they have lost their spontaneity and their natural creative impulse. Their fancy and imagination do not have free play. Neither art nor literature is greatly enriched by their ill-regulated yet undoubted mental powers.

The truth is, the English are by nature unfitted to win the affections of a fanciful and dreamy Oriental people. For the English temper is arrogant, hard, stubborn, practical, and unimaginative. Endowed with a genius for government, the Englishman has scant respect for races which have no capacity for politics and no aptitude for progress. Cynicism is his mental attitude toward subject peoples. And this cynicism is the dominant characteristic in his dealings with the Hindus. The English in India have become a caste, and no caste was ever more narrow, dogmatic, and intolerant. They have their own fixed opinions upon Indian affairs, and to dispute the correctness of them is to excite their vindictive resentment. They do not brook independence of thought. They persecute all who venture to contradict them. And yet their opinions are not only incorrect in many particulars, but are antiquated and perverse. For in their devotion to everything Mohammedan they even uphold the Turk in his wars and barbarities, and they hold in abhorrence the administration of Lord Ripon, who was one of the most scrupulously just and honorable viceroys that India ever had.[1]

What, then, is to be said of the contact of these two incongruous races? Is India really benefiting by a rule which arouses her antipathy? That she is well governed cannot be denied. Law and order reign throughout her wide domains as

[1] Consult "The Anglo-Indian Creed" in the *Contemporary Review* for August, 1899.

they never could have reigned through the efforts of her native peoples. And from such an efficient and well-ordered rule the Hindus must inevitably acquire new standards of political conduct. But, chafing under the haughty and unbending dominion of a people whom they hate, they can hardly put on more than a veneer of civilization; and their longing to live their own life seems wholly natural and justifiable.

CHAPTER VI

SIAM

In the year 1868 this minor Asiatic State passed under the sway of a liberal and progressive ruler, King Chulalongkorn. Unlike the typical Asiatic sovereign, this kindly and upright King refused to be bound by the traditions of the past, and endeavored to improve and elevate the condition of his subjects. He was by no means hostile to the spirit of Western civilization, and, as opportunity offered, he introduced radical and startling innovations. A striking proof of his sympathy with modern ideas was his abolition of the custom of prostration in the royal presence. For his subjects were allowed to stand erect before him instead of lying prone at his feet. He also showed appreciation of the value of education, and by his sanction and encouragement a college for princes and a royal school for girls were established in Bangkok in 1893.

But the closing years of the century found King Chulalongkorn a saddened and disappointed man, and his kingdom not greatly improved because of his enlightened efforts. He had indeed suffered many and severe discouragements. Domestic bereavements had tried him sorely, and the aggressions of the French were a bitter blow to his pride. For in 1893 France forced him into a war and robbed him of territory that contained over a hundred thousand square miles and three million inhabitants. But the worst obstacles to his progress as a reforming monarch lay in himself and in the character of his country and his people. For "*laisser-faire* is essentially engendered not only by the climate but by the religion of the country."[1] The climate during the greater part of the year is hot, stifling, and excessively damp, so that sustained exertion is almost impossible. And, as if this natural condition were not

[1] *Contemporary Review*, 71: 884.

enough to destroy enterprise, the Buddhist religion has done its utmost to create apathy and indifference to all things, for it prescribes Nirvana as the highest happiness, and non-resistance as the highest law of life. Hence the atmosphere that pervades hovel and palace alike is that of quietude and self-indulgence. The King himself has not been able to escape its vitiating influence, but has led the easy and pleasure-loving life that characterizes the Asiatic potentate. His palace swarms with princes who grow up to be weaklings and who must be supported in indolence by the State. The court, therefore, is by no means a centre of activity; and the King, though he has autocratic power, has not the energy to master the details of administration. Necessarily, he leaves the actual task of governing very largely to his ministers, and these ministers are as lethargic, as dilatory, and as hostile to innovations as the Oriental official has always shown himself from ancient times to the present day. Moreover, some of them are exceedingly corrupt, and what they do to forward new enterprises they do only after receiving bribes.

It is obvious, then, that however enlightened and progressive King Chulalongkorn may be, reforms must come slowly in a country so buried in sloth and self-satisfaction. And of political development there is indeed no evidence. Such changes as come are of an external character and do not show any awakening of the people. The modern inventions have been introduced; but, although the King approves of such signs of progress, these innovations are due almost entirely to the enterprise of foreign residents. It is the busy and restless European that has carried the typical products of Western civilization into this sleepy Asiatic State; and to him chiefly was it due that in 1897 Siam had 179 miles of steam railway, 1780 miles of electric telegraph lines, and a number of electric lighting plants. But the people of the country look with such disapproval upon these modern conveniences that it is difficult to make them profitable and to extend their use; and when they fall under native management, as happens when the State takes them under its control, they are often abandoned through sheer indolence.[1]

[1] Much that is now written about Siam is misleading, as it gives exaggerated importance to the reforms and improvements which the King and

Accordingly, Siam cannot be considered progressive in the same sense in which that word is applied to Japan. It is making no growth toward democracy; and it is worthy of study, not because it is having a political awakening, but because it illustrates the difficulties of engrafting Western institutions upon Asiatic civilization. Japan actually borrows and assimilates Western ideas and politics; the rest of Asia must receive its growth after the manner of Siberia, India, or Siam. Through conquest or through commercial enterprise these vast and populous districts, with their dreamy and languorous life, will echo with the hum of Western industry, and will witness the inevitable spread of Western ideas. But the East will remain unchanged in thought and temper, even though its territory is invaded on every hand. Even as it outlived the dominion of Macedon and Rome,[1] it will resist the encroachments of modern civilization with passive yet indomitable strength.

others have attempted to introduce. The true condition of affairs and the obstacles in the way of progress are shown in *Blackwood's Magazine*, 159:461; *Contemporary Review*, 64:1; and the article in the *Contemporary* (71:884) already referred to.

[1] The brooding East with awe beheld
Her impious younger world.
The Roman tempest swell'd and swell'd,
And on her head was hurl'd.

The East bow'd low before the blast
In patient, deep disdain;
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again.
—MATTHEW ARNOLD, "Obermann Once More."

CONCLUSION

In this brief survey of the political changes wrought during the nineteenth century it has been impossible to do much more than to present essential facts. As in the old Greek tale, the curtain is the picture. The facts speak for themselves and tell their own story. They show how, all over the civilized world, the people have wrested Constitutions from their rulers, taken the government into their own hands, and controlled affairs through their chosen representatives. Becoming thus their own masters, they have thrown off the burdens that had oppressed them for centuries. The legislation of the last hundred years has largely been of a reformatory character. It has been a persistent and long-continued effort to give to the common people the rights that had so long been withheld from them. Broadly characterized, this legislation may be said to have had three distinct and notable tendencies: to educate the masses, to enfranchise them, and to relieve them from poverty and suffering. Ever since civilization began, the untrained and ignorant have felt the tyranny of stronger minds. In ancient times they were subjected to cruel slavery. In the middle ages they suffered from an almost equally cruel serfdom. In modern times they have been crushed beneath the merciless exactions of capital. Thus civilization is the story of a struggle, throughout which the survival of the fittest has been the dominant law. In the nineteenth century the struggle culminated. Realizing their strength, the masses asserted themselves and forced from reluctant governments the weapons that would enable them to continue the endless struggle on more equal terms.

But, since the tide of conflict has turned somewhat in their favor, two interesting questions have arisen and claimed the attention of thoughtful minds. Have the weapons thus gained been wisely used? And is the long conflict of the centuries

likely to cease? Each of these questions calls for a brief consideration.

The weapons bestowed by democracy cannot, in the nature of things, be handled with perfect skill. In a democracy the people become their own rulers, and their essay at government will always reflect their own crudity, narrowness, self-sufficiency, and unsteadiness of purpose. And the more perfect the democracy, the more certain is this to be the case. The German Empire gives universal suffrage, but such is the force of prestige and tradition that the legislators of the nation are largely swayed by the men who are fitted to lead and by the government itself. The conditions are dissimilar in France; yet there, too, the people assert themselves so little that the government rules autocratically, and year after year and decade after decade supports an aggressive and truculent militarism. But in the United States the people, in spite of the caucus and the primary, make their will felt in the statute-book. To a very considerable extent they shape and control legislation; and this legislation reflects the tone of the average mind. It lacks statesmanlike breadth. It is destructive rather than constructive in character. It consists of petty and annoying regulations rather than of the enunciation of great principles. Some of the provisions of the different tariff laws are absurdly unpractical and irrational.

And yet this legislation is worthy of respect. Sometimes it is the mere product of a corrupt lobby; but sometimes it reveals the honest efforts of undisciplined minds to discover the truth. And if it is faulty, narrow, and crude, where is the perfect code with which it may be compared? Did legislators show consummate wisdom before the days of constitutionalism? Rather did they rule so atrociously that the people swept them aside and chose their own representatives to make laws and redress grievances. And if statesmen have disappeared from the political arena, they have not by any means disappeared from national life. Strong, able, and original minds are considering the great questions of the day and arriving at well-reasoned conclusions regarding them. The opinions of such thinkers can hardly fail in the end to exert a wide influence and to affect legislation. Parliaments may not of themselves discover wise methods of taxation. But if

the principles that should govern taxation are enunciated by master minds, they may in time find expression in the statute-book. Similarly, legislators that are usually governed by selfish motives may be forced to obey the awakened moral sense of the people. Civil service reform would never have come about in the United States if Congress had not bowed to the demands of the nation for a pure and efficient management of public affairs.

It may fairly be claimed, then, that the self-governing countries of the world have proved the worth of democratic institutions. If the people have not used their new-found weapons with consistent wisdom, they have yet used them for good rather than for ill. In the countries where the people have most power there is often found the greatest prosperity and contentment. In England, Switzerland, New Zealand, Australia, and the United States there is free expression of opinion, enlightened public sentiment, and an absence of that unwise repression which drives political diseases below the surface and makes the currents of national life impure. Even in the turbulent South American States we see growth, development, and progress. The people there allow despotic leaders to control them, instead of maintaining the integrity of their Constitutions. Yet some of these States have made a marvellous advance in the course of three quarters of a century. Education has been encouraged, commerce developed, and a civilization of an admirable type has slowly come into being. It was through democratic institutions that the Spanish-American peoples had to learn the meaning and nature of political responsibilities. They have learned their lesson very imperfectly, but they have learned it better by far than they ever could have done if they had been subjected to a strong and efficient foreign rule, which would have earned their hatred even while it gave them order and settled peace.

That countries like Holland, Sweden, and Denmark are more efficiently governed than most of the Spanish-American Republics is not to be denied. But comparisons between countries that have had such a widely different political experience are apt to be misleading. The one essential fact in regard to each and every one of these States is, that in differing ways and in differing degrees the people have claimed the right

to be their own masters, and have made a galling and unjust tyranny impossible for any length of time. Revolution is the bane of stable governments, but it is also the bane of the despot. It is one of the people's weapons. If they have often used it wantonly and wickedly, they have also used it from time to time with good effect. It was through revolution that France dealt absolutism its death-blow.

Let the people have the credit, then, of wielding their tremendous powers for the good of civilization and progress. If they have been tearing down, they will yet build up. The day of statesmen is said to have gone by, but it is too soon to make such an assertion. Only a generation has passed since Lincoln gained an almost unparalleled ascendency over a whole people. Only a short time has elapsed since the death of Gladstone, who was the author of more numerous humane and liberal measures than any English statesman that ever lived. And even though the tendencies of the age are critical and analytical rather than constructive, it is not fair to say as yet that republican institutions cannot bring forth new leaders as great as these. Bismarck grew out of the severe and repressive régime of German despotism. The spirit of freedom is surely much more likely to produce, as they are needed, "nature's masterful great men." And under their leadership democracy may take new strides toward a well-ordered political life.

The second question that was raised is more easily answered. A mere glance at the political world of to-day is sufficient to show that democracy has brought no cessation to the strife of the ages. It has changed the conditions of the conflict, but not its essential character. Now that the masses have tasted power and measured their strength, they have become more ambitious, more grasping, more aggressive. With them, as with mankind the world over, attainment brings no satisfaction. No matter how much is won, it is possible to win still more. Hence, every acquisition becomes a source of temptation rather than a source of contentment. Compared with the working classes of other countries, the American laborers may be said to be happy, prosperous, and contented. Yet, partially no doubt through the mischievous influence of "walking delegates," they are continually clamoring for more. They wish

shorter hours, higher wages, and the right to dictate to capital the terms upon which every industry is to be conducted.

Nor is this spirit of self-seeking confined to the wage-earners. It is shared by the people of moderate means who view with dislike the accumulation of colossal fortunes. Through the discontent that exists among people of this class — a discontent that is often founded upon intelligent convictions rather than upon envious and malignant feelings — arises a persistent and relentless warfare upon capital. The legislatures abound in communistic spirits who believe that the regeneration of society can only be accomplished by placing all industries under State control.

Thus the wage-earners and the small property-owners work, either separately or conjointly, against further accumulations of capital. In short, they attack private ownership, and this attack makes the large holders of vested interests unite in self-defence. And their union is a formidable one. So enormous are the returns of well-conducted business ventures that the men of the largest brain power and the widest resources are attracted to the field of industrial and commercial enterprise. Finding themselves assailed, these men combine to protect themselves; and the powers they have used to acquire colossal fortunes they now use to preserve them. They are vastly outnumbered, but the combat is not an unequal one. For, first of all, the capitalist has his own wealth to fall back upon and to support him in time of need, while the workman's very poverty soon drives him to the wall. But more than this, the capitalist has the disciplined, far-reaching intelligence, which makes him the more perfect type in the great struggle for existence. He is more highly developed and therefore better fitted to survive. And survive he does, while the man of strong arm and honest but narrow brain goes down in the fight.

Such are the conditions under which the long struggle between the classes now goes on, and seems likely to go on without cessation. It is difficult to see that the growth of democracy has abated this stubborn warfare. In the greatest democracy the world has ever seen, the last decade of the century witnessed vested interests arrayed against labor in a fierce struggle for supremacy. For, as has been elsewhere

pointed out, the presidential election of 1896 meant nothing else than this.

And this struggle will be endlessly repeated. Neither the coöperative movement nor State socialism can ever bring it to an end. Let the wage-earners become profit-sharers just so far as they can; they have a right to all they can fairly win. And let the State assume control of all enterprises it can manage better than the individual. But however much these movements grow and spread, they cannot change the fundamental conditions of human life. A world that teems with riches invites conquest. To brute force assisted by human invention it yields up its treasures in bewildering profusion. But no sooner has it yielded them up than the struggle for possession begins. It is an absorbing and a furious struggle, for the rewards of victory are great. Accordingly, it brings all the powers and resources of the human mind into play. No perfectly devised scheme of distribution, no artificial structure of society can ever bring this exciting contest to an end. There is an arena; there are the prizes. Combatants will never be wanting until the *auri sacra fames* is banished from the human heart. The moment that profit-sharing became universal, there would be a reaction against it. The more completely State socialism became established, the more surely would its structure crumble away. The saying of the Roman poet, that nature will not yield to force,[1] is as true of the human, as it is of the inanimate, world.

But surely this great conflict is best waged under popular government. When the people truly rule, they cannot be oppressed. The only burdens they carry will be those they put upon themselves. And these burdens may indeed be heavy ones. Through absurd and fantastic legislation they may cripple trade, make capital unproductive, vitiate the currency, and bring distress to the poor man, whom above all they wish to help. But through mistakes and failures will come a more perfect knowledge. Gradually it will be seen that legislation is not a cure for poverty; and a nation can afford to

[1] The phrase is borrowed from the well-known lines of Horace (*Ep.* I., 10: 24, 25):

> Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret
> Et mala perrumpet furtim fastidia victrix.

make costly errors to learn this lesson. It is a lesson that never can be learned in countries that are governed by a privileged class. In such countries there will be seething discontent among the masses, who will attribute all their ills to the selfishness of their rulers. But in a democracy the people must see in time that the warfare of the classes is not due to governmental oppression. And such knowledge should go far toward removing the bitterness that has characterized this unceasing conflict.

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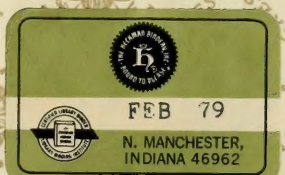

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